

SPECIAL REPORT: HEALTH CARE THAT WORKS

# MACLEAN'S



CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | [www.macleans.ca](http://www.macleans.ca)

JUNE 21 2004

## GOING GOING...

Unless Paul Martin's last-ditch plan pays off,  
the Liberals are **GONE**

\$4.95

25



## Four centuries have passed, but the spirit of this adventure endures.

The year 2004 marks the 400th anniversary of the first French settlement in North America. Remarkably, four hundred years have come and gone since Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts, accompanied by Samuel de Champlain, set sail for the New World to establish a French colony for King Henri IV of France. What followed is not only the epic struggle of a courageous group of settlers trying to survive a harsh new landscape, but also signifies the origin of the proud Acadian people, and the beginnings of modern Canada.



The rendering of a 17th century sailing ship, similar to the one used to cross the Atlantic in the spring of 1604, graces one side of the newly minted 400th anniversary 25-cent circulation coin.

With the help of Champlain, the French nobleman de Monts explored much of the East coast before discovering a small island in the Bay of Fundy. Naming it Île Sainte-Croix, de Monts set his men to clear the island for long-term settlement.

By October snow had fallen and before long the river was filled with ice floes, cutting all of the men off from the mainland. As the Acadian winter deepened, their drinking water food and firewood dwindled; by spring, nearly half of the original company of 78 had lost their lives. The settlement was relocated to a more hospitable location, but the historic impact of the small island has endured for over four centuries.



Consequently, it was also a strategic location for Acadians de Monts felt that Île Sainte-Croix would be easy to defend against potential enemies.

Today it lives on for the many Acadian descendants who cherish their rich legacy of history and genealogy. And the heroic tale of the Île Sainte-Croix settlers is truly a story of survival - the survival of a tenacious people who faced and overcame adversity to flourish and preserve their culture, traditions and joie de vivre.

These men of Île Sainte-Croix were just the first in a long march of settlers from all over the world who have followed their dreams to Canada.



Collect and cherish your very own 25-cent circulation coins from the Royal Canadian Mint. Just look in your change for keepsake souvenirs of the 400th anniversary of the first French settlement in North America at Île Sainte-Croix.

To honour the spirit of adventure of these hardy European pioneers and all who have followed them the Royal Canadian Mint is proud to release a 25-cent circulation coin celebrating the 400th anniversary of the first French settlement in North America at Île Sainte-Croix. As the leading creator of lasting impressions that represent and exemplify Canadian heritage values and special moments, the Mint is pleased to help commemorate this epic story.

**A Part of Our Lives.**

## Get your 400th anniversary commemorative coins today!

Celebrate the 400th anniversary of the first French settlement in North America at Île Sainte-Croix with these special gifts to treasure or give to friends and family.



### 2004 Proof Silver Dollar

Elegantly packaged, the pure silver dollar coin is beautifully struck in proof finish (frosted details on a brilliant background), double-dated "1604-2004" and comes with a certificate of authenticity.

### 2004 Brilliant Silver Dollar

Superbly struck in brilliant finish (brilliant details on a brilliant background), the coin reflects the same design as the Proof Silver Dollar.



### 2004 Proof Set

Choose the ultimate setting for the 2004 Proof Silver Dollar. Also, accompanying the proof version of all of Canada's regular circulation coins is the popular 50-cent coin, which features our Coat of Arms. Each coin in this set is struck in sterling silver (except the one-cent coin and one-dollar coin).

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## 'THE ENEMY OF MY ENEMY'

The most bitter divisions in politics are between people who have similar beliefs

THE ENEMY of my enemy is my friend, they say in the Middle East. If you want to map out that, consider some scenarios that could emerge after the June 28 election. Start with a Conservative minority government, propped up by the Bloc Québécois (what does either side share other than their loathing of the Liberals? (and a wish to hold some power)? Or a Liberal minority supported by the NDP (what scares Paul Martin and Jack Layton—

who go along like two men in a suit—other than abhorrence of Conservative policies (and a wish to exercise power)?

People who don't spend much time around politicians are inevitably surprised to learn that the most bitter divisions aren't between those with different political philosophies. Instead, they're among people who believe in many of the same things. The biggest reason the Liberals had such a soft ride from 1993 until recently was the Right. And one of the big reasons the Liberals are in trouble—beyond the fact conservatives get their act together—is the split between Jean Charest and Paul Martin loyalists.

Watching this unfold makes for great spectator sport—except that we're all afflicted by the outcome. How can the Conservatives govern if they need Bloc support to stay in power? At one level, it's easy: they have a common starting point in that both parties favour downloading more federal power on to the provinces. And minority governments are a game of chicken for both parties: for all the threats and ultimatums, the only way they can maintain power is by finding common ground.

The core beliefs of the Bloc include support for Quebec sovereignty, an active role for government, and left-leaning policies on such issues as Inglewood abortion and gay marriage. Some Conservatives believe Quebec already hardly listened by Ottawa, so all they want is reduced role for government—and, as we've already seen, some members are vehemently opposed to legalized abortion and gay marriages. Those differences add up to a formula for friction for the governing party. Which is, I suspect, consolation for true conservatives: better a government that can do much than one that does things they dislike.

“  
A Conservative-Bloc alliance makes a true conservative dream a government incapable of action

done, so well with the present first-past-the-post system that it's almost impossible to imagine them changing the rules. As well, Martin understands that the Liberals have no major damage done to the U.S.-Canada relationship under Charest—but almost any step to please Washington would annoy the NDP. And another plank in the NDP platform—opposing an inheritance tax on well-off first heirs—would hit the core of Liberal supporters' families.

We're at the point two weeks before the vote when many people focus on the race for the first round. That cover package examines the Conservatives' continuing growth as the polls—and the *Liberals' struggle* to ensure that. The two parties know who their enemies' soon enough, they'll find out who are their real friends.

Anthony Wilson-Smith

comment@maclean.ca or comment on The Editor's Letter

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every morning." Such self-effacing, even almost characterized his rare war reminiscences. Now, as Alzheimer's disease devastates the memory of this brilliant, witty theologian and writer to the point where he no longer knows his children, his sleep is sometimes haunted by the ghost of battle. He is of the generation that bled on trauma deep and got on with the business of living vigorously and compassionately. I honestly don't know how they managed.

Lynette Jacobson, Burlington, Ont.

I am a little disappointed in Jonathan Gershon's article about Canada's willingness to go to war. "What would you die for?" Cover, June 7]. He appears to question our ability to commit to war for moral reasons. But morals change over time, much like all things in life. It should be applauded that Canadians today feel indignation about going to war. I don't blame anyone for not wanting to go to war in Iraq. This war wasn't even UN-sanctioned. But if a foreign army were to assault Canadian shores, I am positive all



able-bodied Canadians would follow their selves into the line of fire.  
Jeff Buckman, Toronto, Ont.

I was struck by the juxtaposition of the cover picture of a soldier, apparently intent on someone else's death, and the question,

"What would you die for?" on your June 7 cover. Implicit in your cover layout is an unasked question, "What would you kill for?" The cover seems to assume that the answers to both questions are the same. But as demonstrated powerfully by the black and white photo of the last province in front of the tanks in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, reprinted on your June 16 issue, they are not the same question at all. For my part, there are some things for which I would consider dying, but I cannot currently identify anything for which I would kill.

Keith Beggs, Vancouver, Ont.

I'll tell you what I'd die for. I'd die for the knowledge that no man will ever again take up arms in defence of his "way of life." In other words, commit me to no more exercises as a result of scheming to and accepting government propaganda.

Clara Wright, South Surrey, B.C.

Gen. Romeo Dallaire may be excited by the possibility in Jonathan Gershon's words,

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## BEHINDTHESCENES



### OH, THE GLORY!

It was the cover that never was. Maclean's editorial staff had special reason to root for a victory by the Calgary Flames over Tampa Bay in the sixth game of the Stanley Cup on Saturday, June 8: an editorial team including writers, editors, photographers and designers were poised to tear up the existing magazine and produce a cover story on the Flames Stanley Cup victory.

Planning for that eventuality was in the works from the day the Flames qualified for the finals. Sports Editor James Deacon commuted between Calgary and Tampa as the series unfolded, while Calgary Bureau Chief Brian Hergman prepared a story on the impact a Flames win would have on the city itself. In Toronto, Executive Editor Bob Levin, Deputy Art Director Gary Hall and Photography Director Andrew Tolson pored over hundreds of photographs of the series. Special arrangements were made with the Quebecor printing plant to run the presses later than usual, so that the editorial team would have until 3 a.m. on the Sunday morning to produce a comprehensive seven-page report.

"We had a great group here and were going to produce a terrific, timely story," says Levin. "Unfortunately, the hockey gods didn't cooperate."

Alas, Tampa Bay triumphed that Saturday in double overtime, forcing the deciding seventh game two days later that the Lightning also won. The consolation for Calgary fans for their team's magnificent season-long effort came in the form of the city-wide celebration featured in this week's issue. And as for the Calgary Flames cover that never was, perhaps it's a case of "wait until next year."

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## UPFRONT



He sang in a gravelly, life-weary voice that could, when he wanted, be as clear as moonlight in the Georgia pines. And he poured out that plume as if it had been born winged. Perhaps he saw it as a metaphor for his own life: Ray Charles, who died at 73 of acute liver disease at his California home, was one of those rare talents whose own biography in the American story was large. Born in grinding poverty in Albany, Ga., blind by 15, probably from glaucoma, and orphaned at 18, Charles somehow took off on a musical odyssey that seemed to carry effortless

Charles (in L.A. in the mid-1940s) had a talent for moving effortlessly between musical genres.

through all the main genres—pop, pop, R&B, country and gospel. His genius, producer Jerry Wolkstein said, was the “blasphemous idea of taking gospel songs and putting the devil’s words to them.” But his real legacy was injecting a huge helping of soul into the American songbook.

Charles was no saint. He struggled with heroin for nearly 30 years and his womanizing was legendary. By most counts, he led 12 kids from almost as many women. And, of course, a bunch of old sweet songs is forever kept here on our hands.

## ScoreCard



**Quote of the week** | "Good guy. Brian Mulroney, the former prime minister of Great Britain." *OWN* talk show host LARRY KANE, thanking his guest, the former PM of Canada

## WORLD

**TORTURE** In the fight against terrorism, President George W. Bush is not bound by international treaties or even American laws against torture, lawyers for the U.S. justice and defense departments wrote in an array of now leaked memos over the past two years. Detainees charged that the measures of which described in detail how long a prisoner may be denied sleep or forced to stand in a compromising position—provided the legal cover for ill-treatment abuse. But Attorney General John Ashcroft told a Senate committee that Bush has given no presidential order to circumvent torture laws and that the administration believes torture is both legal and counterproductive.

**AFGHANISTAN** Taliban or al Qaeda rebels, employing assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades, attacked and killed a crew of 11 Chinese road-workers, wounding four others, while they slept in their tents. The Chinese were in the country building roads for a World Bank project.

**AFRICA** Leaders of some of the world's richest countries, including Canada, ended their annual meeting with a promise to extend existing debt relief plans to the poor or nations, particularly in Africa. But the G8 leaders, gathered at Sea Island, Ga., turned aside Kenya's plea to forgive African debt entirely, and they made no specific move to



## IS IT THE SUSHI?

Japan's long living population, already a scientific wonder, but now a real science: a government report reported 35,551 deaths over the age of 100, a doubling of the ratio of centenarians to just five years.

alleviate the humanitarian crisis in Sudan, where as many as one million refugees have been uprooted because of attacks by government-backed rebels.

**TERRORISM** A coordinated raid by police in Italy, France, Spain and Belgium robbed a train known as *Mallakand*. The Egyptians, said to be a key player in the Madrid train bombing in March that killed 191 people. Twenty-three people were arrested, some alleged to be planning an attack in Belgium. Boston became the first North American

city to launch *anti-terrorism* searches on its bus and subway systems, part of the city's run up to hosting the Democratic convention in July.

**IRAQ** Predicted by co-members of the UN Security Council, the Bush administration formalized its plan to hand political power over to an interim Iraqi government on June 30, and to leave the country by the end of January 2006. It also agreed to "coordinate" U.S. military operations with the Iraqi government.

The long-voiced UN resolution came soon after Prime Minister Iyad Allawi negotiated a deal to disband nine of Iraq's major militias—mostly Shiite and Kurd—and incorporate their soldiers into a new Iraqi army. Significantly, the militia loyal to Saddam's Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr did not go along, and Kurdish leaders threatened to quit the proposed federation because the UN resolution did not formally recognize their recently gained special status.

**SPEED** The fastest man on earth, world champion sprinter Tim Montgomery, and three other Olympic-caliber U.S. runners, accused by the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency of using a new performance-enhancing *designer drug*, may not get to the Summer Games in Athens.

**BULLYING** Three German teens, 16 to 18, were sentenced to up to 1½ years in jail for *bullying a classmate*—forcing him to strip and eat chalk and cigarette butts—and posting videos of the abuse on the Internet.

**BARKING DOGS** To make the fallacy of *Boonsheng* more audible, New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg's noise pollution law will force owners to use self-sounding bells and limit canine barking to 10 minutes during the day and five at night.

**PUMPKIN** Good news on the grounds: Cucurbitaceous cukes have reached up nearly 1,600 of the fuzzy vegetables living in the wild, about 40 per cent more than was previously thought.

## BUSINESS

**WIRED** Taking on the cable companies, telephone giant Bell Canada asked regulators for

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## UPFRONT

permission to deliver TV signals over the high-speed phone lines it uses to bring the Internet to homes in Ontario and Quebec.

**PINGPONGS** One of 10 defunct Toronto police plants in Canada's oldest police force, the Toronto Police Service, will require a \$160 million budget to make things right, the Certified General Accountants Association of Canada reported.

**ROYAL SHAW** The week-long computer glitch that kept the assets of Royal Bank of Canada customers from their accounts was caused by a single employee entering "a relatively small" amount of incorrect pieces of code during a software upgrade, a spokesman said. Still, the bank's problems did not end by fixing the night sequence: some customers received e-mails directing them to a secure website asking for driver's licenses or other documents and passwords to get their accounts online.

## CANADA

**FAKE IDs** Apparently it's not illegal to possess fake IDs in at least some provinces, just to use them for fraudulent purposes. Still, the RCMP reported that a British Columbia Digital Products, was offering high-

quality fakes over the Internet—a provincial driver's license was renting for US\$90 a pop—especially in the age of electronic licenses. Some provinces said they might want to change their laws.

**PLANE KELLY** Elford, the 22-year-old Victoria woman arrested four years ago in the 1997 murder of classmate Rebecca York, a case that drew national attention to the subject of teen violence, pled not guilty to the crime, ordered retrial in Vancouver.

In Toronto, it was reported that Michael Krieger, the 36-year-old computer programmer charged in the death and dismemberment of 30-year-old Holly James last year, will plead guilty, sparing a trial.

**POINT TONIN** Rahjagy, a 30-year-old doctor in London, Ont., described by colleagues as religious and with a growing career, took his own life a day after police charged him with possessing child pornography.

**MARIJUANA** A commissioned report by the right-wing Fraser Institute argued that marijuana should be legalized and sold like booze. The report said that in a \$9-billion industry that could net Ontario \$2 billion in tax revenue. The cannabis five-

centrate said later it wasn't necessarily advocating such a course of action itself.

**CETACEANS** Creating a health care fairy to match Ontario's New Brunswick Premier Bernard Lord, an increased closing of 238 hospital beds and 50 hospitals across the province.



**RED RIVER** In a colorful gamble, Marine Biogenes the footloose on the Red River—to save. It's a gamble from golden business, but at the expense of about \$5 billion on the southern coastline. Competition is expected in the \$500,000 range.

**MILK AMERICA** Add another institution to the evidence that Canadians are among the world's most devoted milk drinkers. According to Statistics Canada, the number of marriages rose 10 per cent between 1991 and 2001, the number of married couples shot up 55 per cent. Slightly over three per cent of Canadian marriages or common-law unions are mixed race, with Japanese Canadian and Caucasian most likely to be part of such twosomes.



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# GOING, GOING...

Paul Martin's campaign has gone off the rails. JOHN GEDDES reports on the Liberal party'sperate last-ditch plan to get back on track.

IT'S NOT AS IF Paul Martin hasn't had any good days in the campaign trail. There was his stop in Saskatoon way back on May 31, when polls still showed his Liberals ahead of Stephen Harper's Conservatives. On that occasion, he dazzled students at Holy Cross High School in a breezily charming discussion on anything they cared to ask him about. Media outlets and Martin's own handlers agreed he was in the zone. Canadians with good memories might recall a similar vintage Martin performance in a CBC TV town hall on Feb. 4,

when Peter Marshall could still introduce him as "a popular prime minister, and his party has overwhelming support." Six days later, that description was suddenly sterilized, obsolete, with the auditor general's scorching report on the sponsorship of Iraq. Martin has never really recovered.

Liberals cling to the hope that the Martin who can win over as many of the right sort of audience will reappear before it's too late. They need voters to see him at his informal best, not as the strained politician he has looked like through so much of this race. But even if Martin's light for emerging green and white could be shown as between now

and the June 28 vote, a night not even enough. Desperate Liberal strategists have decided on a far from hard hitting approach. David Hertz, Martin's top adviser and his campaign co-chairman, told Liberal MPs last week that the party must resort to a negative advertising offensive in a bid to halt its downward spiral. Harper responded with typical calm disdain: "I will let the Liberals descend into the gutter," he said, "and they will be punished accordingly."

That's the risk they take. The history of going negative in Canadian politics is checkered at best. The best-known example: a Conservative TV ad mocking Jean Chrétien's

appearance in 1993, which backfired badly. And Louie, co-chairman of the Conservative campaign in Alberta and a legendary partisan tactician, says many less newsworthy snippets have also failed. "Canadians just don't respond to that kind of stuff," Louie notes. "I've never seen it succeed in the money campaign I've worked on." There are exceptions, such as the famous "Grip TV" spots that undermined John Turner's credibility in the 1988 free trade election. Liberals produced TV ads attacking Kim Campbell in 1993 and Stockwell Day in 2000—but never used them. This time, though, they are under far more pressure. Martin's people defend their approach as a legitimate bid to expose Harper's real issues, not a personal assault. "This is about fundamental policies on human rights, foreign policy and economic management," said Liberal strategist John Duffy.

Liberals see Harper as particularly vulnerable on those main fronts.

On Iraq, they say he would have sent Canadians to war. Harper insists he only advocated bombing moral support to George W. Bush's "coalition of the willing," since Canada's army didn't have enough soldiers available to do any fighting. But that sounded like—for the war, but not for fighting—a hardly one of Harper's stronger debating points. Frank Genuis, president of the polling firm Elora Research Associates, says that's a potential lit summer for the Liberals, both because the vast majority of Canadians think say no to Iraq was the right choice, and because Harper's minor words dodged

■ On hot button social issues, they portray Harper as retrograde. He has left the door open to using the Charter of Rights and Freedoms' so-called notwithstanding clause



## RatingGame



Because of a court decision last October, Elections Canada will not enforce blackout rules, meaning people in some parts of the country will be able to see early results from other regions before their polls close. It's long been an issue in B.C., especially, where voters have complained of feeling that their ballots are meaningless.



It's back. In an Internet video clip, former NDP leader Ed Broadbent, 68, roars: "I'm the one you all should know—once more popular than Trudeau!" And still pretty popular in Ottawa's Centre, where he's trying to stage his political comeback—polls have shown him leading for a landslide.



Outspoken Liberal Member of Parliament remember the "Mama Americans. I hate those bastards!" comment?—said it when she said the party's campaign has been "like the Kennedy Reels running around." Hey, wait a minute—weren't they American too?



Liberal attack ad features a man painted at the camera, pulled aside and a disapproving Canadian flag as a voice intones, "Stockwell Harper says, when it's through with Canada, we won't recognize it. You know what? He's right." You can almost smell the desperation.



The Green party may be on route to winning more than two per cent of the vote, which would qualify it for federal seats. Last week they stood at seven per cent in the polls. Ideology would be good—indeed Jan Harkins, a motivational speaker, missed a campaign stop because of the demands of his job job.

## Promises, Promises

LIBERALS	CONSERVATIVES	NDP	BLOC QUÉBÉCOIS
Paul Martin's team wasn't plugging much of anything last week, given that jangling Liberal promises were throwing everything they could at Stephen Harper and his bashing Conservatives. But maybe there'll be a clear, albeit unrelated, promise to make the last few weeks of this election campaign as brisk as possible.	Has any day since the "mama bastards" North Atlantic Treaty anniversary, and promised measures do do with it. Harper's attack the party on Canada's Ontario during the prime's second week warning of the party in their's similar (about the border and migrants?)	New Canada's election, Jack Layton declared the NDP leader said the U.S. promises will result in a new wave of jobs. He got some high profile help from others of the Toronto rally when he denounced the plan. Backing up Layton was a controversial David Suzuki, Patrick Atwell, and Steve Dineen of the Parliament Ladies.	It's the Bloc's supporters, a minority group in Quebec, who would get labour leaders help about the party's agenda. Deschamps said he would also fight for more progressive social policies, such as same-sex marriage. He would also lead the party's music to Harper's New. After he's second publicly about a possible opportunity to use the Charter of Rights and Freedoms' so-called notwithstanding clause

to interfere. Any Supreme Court of Canada ruling in favour of same-sex marriage. And since Canadians tend to hold the Christians out, Liberals believe Harper is on the wrong side of opinion. On abortion, though, he may be less exposed. Harper vows not to introduce anti-abortion legislation, so Liberals can only mock him for saying "it would ease black MPs from trying to pass pro-life members' bills on the issue. And getting any private member's bill worded into law is increasingly difficult."

■ On spending, they accuse Harper of having his attention to death programs. His platform is a \$90-billion rise of tax cuts, defense and health spending, and debt repayment. That blueprint assumes the rest of existing programs will grow by just three per cent a year. Liberals say 4.5 per cent growth is more realistic. That's a big difference: about \$10 billion a year. So Liberals charge that

**LIBERALS** cling to the hope that the Martin who can be so at ease with the right kind of audience will reappear

Harper means to cut this much to make room for his new priorities. A debate over numbers can be painfully dry, but Martin could score points. He can now suspect that Harper isn't coming clean on his real ideas.

But Liberts can't win a policy battle if Martin doesn't communicate more compellingly. While there have been floating high points, such as his glib and far too fast thesaurus, they have been far too few. More often, voters have been treated to Martin in his old business-jargon mode. Not much better are his occasional flights of old-style rhetoric, such as when he shouted "Ousted is victory!" without a hint of irony on the final day of the campaign—a reminder that he's a 66-year-old who learned about campaigning in his father's suit in the 1960s, back before TV and the web.

Harper, 44, has proved he's good at keeping the temperature down. That's now his big challenge: staying icy calm as Martin's crew tries to steam up the coast. Some Liberals are apprehensive about how Martin will maintain a polite ministerial aura in such a clash. Doug Richardson, a long-time Martin supporter and veteran Liberal organizer in Saskatoon, told a few days ago

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



## FIGHTING THE PHONY WAR

The politicians shoot off their mouths on defence while vital equipment crumbles

IF **ALMOST** impossible to reconcile the campaign's ostensibly pacifist and pro-life stances with the grant of aid to the current force. The Liberals, Tories and even the NDP claim the prospect of high-tech non-lethal weapons is only one dash on huge cash figures. And not one dash with the slightest hint that even if the weapons were agreed tomorrow, nothing would arise from Britain. Meanwhile, everything from helicopter gun to transport aircraft to battle is already being made. "They are not addressing the real problem in a coherent way," claims Douglas Hinde, chairman of Queen's University's defence management studies program. "What they should be doing is recognizing the collapse and talk about how they are going to deal with it: the one soldier and six weapons aspect."

Don't hold your breath, instead, the campaign has generated fog of phony war. Each party, especially the Liberals, has unveiled the same plans on multiple occasions. This has created so much confusion that experts cannot even place the competing defense platforms—because so many items are already included in current spending programs. The bottom line is that both the Liberals and Conservatives have seriously mis-

“Everyone gloats about peacekeepers and no one admits the truth: we can barely send troops anywhere until at least 2010.”

the parties would use that equipment—but not half as much as they pretend. The NDIP talks about peacekeeping. The Liberals would lead 5,000 troops—and keep the peace in multilateral operations. The Tories would bring troops strength from 60,000 to 80,000 for operations such as domestic disasters, peacekeeping and multilateral combat missions. But peacekeeping almost always entails combat these days. Another largely obvious war.

Party spinners deepen the confusion. The Tories don't want to look too extreme: they are portraying themselves as upright Liberals. The Libs insist that Sir Scott, when the Tories proclaimed that they would buy hybrid cars in use "moonlander" plots to replace tanks with lighter wheeled vehicles, the Tories scoffed: "aircraft carriers and tanks are so yesterday." If you look at the way we are attacking the Tories," says a senior Libel, "only half jokingly, 'you would think we were against defence'."

But, Eland says, the Tory carriers are essentially the same as the support ships that the Liberals announced in mid-April—for perhaps the third time. And even experts are divided about the wisdom of the Grix's decision to buy armoured wheeled vehicles to replace cracked tanks.

Such sophistry is a shame: defense is about the protection of our safety and our economy, not about backing U.S. adventures abroad. Most voters want troops sent home from Iraq. Pollsters find that 54 per cent would spend more on defense—compared to 38 per cent for more foreign aid. It makes for an odd election: everyone grants that peacekeeping and troops at home. And no one admits the simple truth: we can hardly manage to send troops anywhere worth at least 200,000. No matter what they're doing.

Mary Jurgens is a political and policy writer  
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**Anders v. Shell Oil Company et al.**  
No. 120723 in the Supreme Court of British Columbia

**Gerlough v. Shell Oil Company et al.**  
No. 34760/09, Ontario Superior Court of Justice

**Gleason v. Shell Oil Company et al.**  
No. 2010-00001-001 Quebec Superior Court of Justice

[illegible]

#### CLASS CERTIFICATION AND SETTLEMENT APPROVAL

Doris Grønmo in the proceedings also introduced a written agreement with one of the defendants, Staff W. Grønmo ("The Staff Grønmo Agreement"). Another defendant, E. Grønmo, an attorney and company, has also previously acted as a settlement approval agency in other Grønmo, Drømo, and Gaurde. The Courts earlier also passed up against Staff Grønmo for the purpose of the elements of a written settlement with Staff Grønmo Agreement. The Courts also approved representative plaintiff and settlement class members.

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#### SETTLING TEAMS

[illegible]

but didn't subject it to a formal *Goldilocks* test. Instead, it rolled 11 miles in a gas and engine, which meant it did not come out of it reduced in any way the 220-mile equivalent fueling, also required.

In exchange for these retirement benefits, class members will release and discharge all claims against Shell arising out of or relating to their P8 Pumping Systems, P8 No-Design Lines, and P8 Hot Water Heating Systems. As a result, class members (except those who settle and properly opt-out) will be barred from making or putting any trial class action to trial.

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#### FOURTH APPROXIMATE METHOD

The Kappa Ichi was reversed by the following Court:  
Ontario Superior Court of Justice  
Ganley v. Shell Oil Court File No. 20160109

Supreme Court of British Columbia  
 Forster, Shalizi / Court File No. C0010

Quebec Superior Court of Justice  
Couture v. Shalizi – Court File No. 700-06-00001-01

"ough out!" leading up to the June 14 15 debate should be enough to draw a clearer line between the two parties. "Then I'd have him ride the high road in the debate," Richardson said. "After that, in the last two weeks, I'd do nothing but put him in settings like the one at Holy Cross High School."

Other Liberals have to view that drawing off Martin's casual, engaging side is essential. "No matter what else is going on, people don't dislike Paul Martin," says Toronto MP John Godfrey. "I think he's disengaged them somehow. But when you ask, 'Who looks more like a leader to you, Martin or Harper?' they say, 'Well, Martin.'" That may be particularly true of women. Nelson James Naros, president of the polling firm SES Canada Research, which is tracking voter opinions ahead of the CMC-TV network, said the Liberal push on issues such as abortion has begun to make it harder for Harper to win over women voters. "Looks like women may have a significant impact on who wins," Naros said last week. In an apparent reaction, the Conservatives began running a TV ad featuring Harper with his wife and children—a droll, good family man pitch designed to counterbalance his less female-friendly neo-conservative side.

Liberals are also targeting left-leaning NDP and Bloc Québécois supporters who might be alarmed by Harper's rise. When Martin returned to Canada after attending the D-Day 60th anniversary ceremonies on France's Normandy coast, and then the G8 Summit in Sea Island, Ga., his first stops were in Montreal. "When Québécois have a choice between helping the Alliance-Conservatives by voting for the Bloc, or voting for a party that will truly represent them, I'm sure they will vote for the Liberal party," Martin said in parts of Ontario and the West, particularly Saskatchewan and Manitoba, organizers claimed they were detecting signs of NDP voters strategically switching to the Liberals to deny Harper victory.

Liberals are counting on an awful lot of voters quickly falling into place. John opinion with a sound of rough ads, consolidate the women's vote, drag back some worried NDP and Bloc converts—and somehow make it all together enough votes for a minority. It's hard to see it working, though, unless Martin loosens up. But that's not where the full-on campaign seems to be heading. Is it possible to attack and relax at the same time? Martin might have to pull off that trick—to pull that election out of the fire.

## Campaign2004 Trail Mix



## BACK TO THE FOLD?

Pushed out of cabinet, Stéphane Dion has hit the road to help the Liberal cause, reports PAUL WELLS

**MOST CAMPAIGNS** start to get weird by the time they're half done. Candidates get grumpy, polls show surprises, the best laid plans go awry. And the windows of opportunity that sometimes appear, sometimes not. All of which may help explain

**SOME** assumed that Dion's brightest days in politics were behind him. But then the campaign took a scary turn.

what Stéphane Dion was doing standing in a Montreal subway and last week.

The population of the rural Province riding elected a Liberal, David Brady, in 1993 and 1997, but that is regarded by locals as a bit of a fluke. Few observers doubt the riding's Conservative incumbent, Vic Tamm, will keep Province after the June 28 election.

Still, in a campaign where Liberals landed a hard time winning a break, Dion—the bearded former re-governor of Alberta

Martin no longer has the luxury of picking and choosing whose help he'll take.

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Campaign2004 Trail Mix

minister who was *unintentionally* removed from cabinet when Paul Martin became PM—was game to help where he could. About one-eighth of Provender's residents are francophones, Franco-Manitobians are as reliable a Liberal clientele as any in the country. Stéphane Dion makes recall their home.

A few dozen voter balloons out to the schoolyard in the town of Lacette to hear Dion. Gray-haired but still boyish in a navy suit, the former minister asked the little crowd whether he should speak to them in French or English. He thought, reversed a few steps to the podium from which the last candidate, a bright young lawyer named Peter Epp, had introduced him. From there he pointed at his audience.

"I'll vary dates from you," he said in French. "But on the end, we're all very close."

Dion's message, which he would repeat in French, German, another 100 languages, was simple. Liberals believe in providing services to francophone populations in plain-language. The Conservative leader, Stephen Harper, has in Dion's estimation been a fair and reluctant convert to the cause.

"Before Mr. Harper became leader he was very frank," Dion said. "He didn't believe in artificial bilingualism at all. Now all he does is mumble, 'Bilingual in place the law that there.'"

That's not an insult. If any purpose of French Canada are to survive and thrive, Dion said, they need Liberals in Ottawa. "The francophone vote must get out very strongly everywhere. I don't need 'Yes' votes in Ottawa. I need Peter Epp." Dion paused. His next point would need to be delicately



Anyone trying to make a name as his party's leading candidate

around. "I can tell you he doesn't speak much French," Dion said. "But he believes in the cause."

The ex-minister's Irish-Gaelic ancestry, the applause from a crowd that really didn't need much convincing. Dion scowled with indignation. He stood patiently next to a satel-

lite truck for 20 minutes, waiting for a flash of recognition, until the local Radio-Canada TV station came early to the scene here. He never drove, looking for a way to the scene, passing a one-joke crowd into a bright ball and with the cameras and disoriented gunshots to

vote for Tipp, who after all is playing the sort of odds they are familiar with.

"May the best man or woman win," he said as he handed the microphone back to the bingo caller. "At bingo, I mean!"

Even a man whose career has taken as many odd turns as Dutil's cannot have long seen that he would lead him in the middle of a campaign this strange. The former Université de Montréal prof was plucked from academia at the beginning of 1996 to help Jean Charest set a more assertive agenda in the federal government's confrontation with Quebec separatism. He fought in two national campaigns that saw the Charest Liberals say and do everything you're not supposed to do in two words as Quebec—yes, the Liberal vote in Quebec all the same.

Then came Martin Dion's considerable esteem for the former finance minister: Dion's seems to have been required. Martin dumped him to the backbench in his first cabinet shuffle. Jean Lapierre, the new boss's new star Quebec candidate, promptly declared Dion's crowning legislative achievement, the *Charter Act*, "useless."

For a while it was fashionable to assume (Dixie's) brightest days in politics were behind

**HE WAS** plucked from academia in 1996 to help the government set a more aggressive course against separatists

fits. But suddenly the campaign has taken a scary turn for Liberals. Martin doesn't have the luxury of picking and choosing whose help he'd like. Dion is visiting several provinces to show up precisely the sort of Liberal audiences Martin or, thought he could take for granted.

Charting his reports, Diet excited away more inquiries as well as any suggestion that he ever fell out of favor with the Martin regime—or that he's losing now as he might get back into cabinet later. "I wasn't pushed aside," he said. "I'm here now. And I'll do everything I can so that Paul Martin, the best finance minister in the history of the country, can serve Canada as prime minister." ■

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 Campaign2004 Quebec

**MORE DISTINCT  
THAN USUAL**

You know things are strange when one of the more popular campaigns is about beer, says **BENOIT AUBIN**

**IN DOWNTOWN MONTREAL**, on a day when the bands hear buzz was still about the closing weekend's Formula One Grand Prix, one policeman was doing his best to capture the spirit of the party: women. Jonathan Blais was peering in his dark suit and white shirt, pumping fist and issuing the occasional bellow. Like the *Québec Québécois* (*His Own People*), Blais is campaigning openly in French, and only in French—though helping make this province truly distinct in the otherwise rational June 28 election. Blais is, in fact, the best candidate in an anti-establishment and popular campaign. How ironic, then, that he's in fact a

effort by Loblaw to secure a sagging flagship brand, Blue, to its once dominant position in the Quebec trade market.

It's a full-fledged effort, too, complete with a campaign bus criss-crossing the province, a Disneyland band, party workers sewing placards on rallies, TV and radio ads, bare-bones stump speeches, glib sound bites for the media, and a Web site that has attracted more than 150,000 visitors in the first two weeks of the campaign. They're all hardwired to the Parti Bloc's slogan: "voix pour le feu" (let's vote for fire). Then there's the party "leader." Call several caucus for a credible

looking Quebec pol and j. Blue would be it. He even looks like Duceppe—minus the wolfin blue eyes. In reality he's François Maranda, a comedian from Quebec City.

Parti libéral's campaign is a credible parody of the real thing—but with a strict and sane sense of irony. "Money makes you happy only when it stays in your pockets," is Jonathan Blouin's official tax policy. Last week, he was making good on a promise to help Canada become a happier country by "de-storing essential goods and products." He and a handful of ministers were offering to refund, in cash, the sales tax that customers



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## Campaign2004 Quebec

walking out of the HMV music store at 10 and Ste. Catherine streets had just paid. He also says that 5 a-7 (French for happy hour) is more fun than 9-to-5, and therefore, the shirt should be reversed—work for two hours, party for eight.

The campaign has elicited many a smile in the province. As Blais notes, "After politicians make you laugh, but we do it on our own." But it has raised quite a few eyebrows to wit from people who suspect that Blais is exploring the high level of cynicism currently found among Quebec voters. The Parti Québécois' runaway success has put its mainstream on the defensive, somewhat.

"We certainly did not plan on exploring voters' cynicism," says Stéphane Duro, the national brand manager for Labov's Blais. "The idea was to jogged up the real campaign, and create an off festival kind of event, one that would draw attention to us by making people smile." Duro argues that the Blais campaign was in development since the summer of 2003, and that the issue of voter cynicism "should be given to the politicians, not to a beer maker."

Indeed. Everywhere they look, Quebecers are their political universe. Everything. The first half of the federal campaign has conditioned Quebec voters with a series of situations that would look like aspirin material were they not unfolding in real life. As Christian Libensky's first against Martin Libensky, rumormongers from the rest of Canada have the Conservative Alliance singing aloud as a likely winner—a party that is currently invisible and unknown in Quebec. Meanwhile, there's the possibility that Quebecers—who booted the Parti Québécois in a provincial election a year ago—could end up sending a massive cohort of separatists to Ottawa at the end of the month.

Playing into that, according to pollster Jean-Marc Lévesque, is the Liberal sponsorship scandal and the gun-control issue. "Voters are running these tracks on politicians because they feel politicians have betrayed them or let them down," he told Macdonald. And there is more.

As in Ontario, provincial Liberals are causing their federal cousins plenty of grief. In Ontario, the Liberal government is not rising stars, in Quebec, it's an opposing vote on city dangers. Premier Jean Charest was



Quebec could end up leading a hefty cohort of separatists in the House of Commons

declared on a promise to allow referendums to reverse the forced fusion of suburban and municipal councils. But now he says he will vote against decartage in the June 20 referendum on the issue. The mergers were an administrative and political fiasco—so will decartage be, it now seems.

The alternative to Charest's bumbling Liberals, however, was just as bad. Two new reports by the province's auditor general into sagging our economy in the capital city of the Montreal Metro, and Minister Jean-Pierre Gauthier's role in the 90s, a government-run risk capital agency, lay a good deal of the blame on the former PQ government. Meanwhile, the roads and bridges are crumbling; the hospitals are overcrowded. For happy campaign here.

The fun-loving Parti Québécois is not exactly running candidates on June 28, so what of the real show? "In the first half of the campaign, voters have expressed who they're angry at, who they don't want to vote for, but that all remains very volatile," pollster Lévesque says. "In the second leg of the race, we shall see who, if any, gets their actual vote."

As for Blais leader Jonathan N., well, "he really enjoys the crowd, the attention, the perks, and the life," says his communications team adviser, Louis Olivier Barty, in an oblique reference to the Blais Québecor saying power in Ontario. Once the man is out, Barty says, "Jonathan is not a dignitary." There will be no getting rid of them. □

March 2004

## Which would you rather have, a cholesterol test or a final exam?

For many, the first sign of heart disease is a heart attack. Did you know that one out of two adult Canadians is at risk of developing heart disease because they have high cholesterol? And that cardiovascular disease is the leading cause of death in Canada? High cholesterol is a major risk factor for heart disease but managing your cholesterol can be quite simple.

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# A STEEL CITY'S BLUES

For residents of a town where the main industry has been hammered, the boom in Canadian economy is a bit of an insult, writes KATHERINE MACKLEM

**THERE'S A QUASI-JOKE**, more telling than funny, making the rounds among unattached young women in Sault Ste. Marie. Over the past decade, this working-class city in northern Ontario, pop. 74,306 and dropping, has suffered waves of layoffs at its long-time principal employer, Algoma Steel Inc. The Sault is bleeding young people, who leave to find work in the more diversified markets to the south. "It's really bad for single women," moans 32-year-old Cecilia Fernandez over lunch. "You don't even once if a guy is nice, or comes from a good family. The first question is, 'Do you have benefits?'"

they say yes, then it's 'OK. Maybe we can have a relationship?'"

It's a sorry state of affairs when someone like Fernandez quips that a real catch is a fellow who can pick up the dentist's tab. Typical of many Saulters her age, Fernandez left 14 years ago to study environmental engineering at the University of Guelph. She thought she'd never be back. After completing an undergraduate degree, she took a job as coordinator at a not-for-profit association, the Ontario Government Network, for several years before returning to school to complete a master's degree. But last September, Fernandez left Guelph to return to her hometown to care for her mother, now 79 and ill with Alzheimer's. Fernandez had landed a part-time job as a seasonal instructor at Algoma University College in Sault Ste. Marie, and the gig had led to additional contract employment to round out her income. It's been kinder than she imagined. There's been a little work, but during the winter term the university didn't offer the course Fernandez teaches. To make ends meet, she's been using up her savings. "I haven't managed to bring money in my life as I have since I moved back here, even when I was a student," Fernandez says.

Through the 1980s and '90s, Canada's economy has seen tremendous growth, hitting one locality after another. In Ontario, outside central, inner-city centres, cities as far as west as Vancouver have filled to laws not seen for more than a generation, and robust employment levels continue to



Smokestacks still dominate the skyline, but good jobs are rare, as Fernandez knows well.

outperform expectations. The GDP, the biggest measure of the country's economic power, grew from 1995 to 2003 by 66 per cent, to \$1.2 trillion. As part of the trend to a more global economy, both Canadian exports and foreign investment in Canada have more than doubled. One of the most important factors affecting the country's fortunes has been the government's focus on after closing the way out of a budgetary nightmare, Paul Martin, s.k. a Saver of the Dollar, produced surpluses for his consecutive years (averaging \$8.7 billion), and the next two, 2005 and 2006 by John



Martin and Ralph Goodale respectively, also expected to be at the black.

For the residents of Sault Ste. Marie, where the steel mill's smokestacks dominate the skyline, the booming Canadian economy is a bit of a curse. In the early '90s, income took a nose-dive in the Sault, and took more than a decade to recover. In 1990, the town's average family income was \$34,124, before it dropped by thousands of dollars. It took 11 years to regain its earlier level—about

(in 2002, in constant dollars, the average family income was \$34,800).

Advances in technology have made it possible for Algoma Steel to cut costs while maintaining its level of production—and hence international competition (read, globalization) has made that natural. The company, which emerged in 2002 from bankruptcy protection for the second time in 10 years, has hammered back its labour force to 3,600 from 6,000 at the beginning

of the 1990s. (In a previous era, at the early '80s, the steel company employed 12,000.) In 1995, when Algoma Steel was at the height of its troubles, the Sault's unemployment rate came close to hitting 20 per cent.

While still above the provincial and national levels, joblessness in the Sault is a new dawn is over per cent, as large part the outcome of another global trend. As Algoma Steel has shed jobs, the town has managed to attract call centres, a development viewed

by many as a mixed blessing. There's nothing attached to the business, admits Bruce Strapp, CEO of the Sault Ste. Marie Economic Development Corp. and one of the people responsible for attracting the centres to the city. "We had a real debate about this sector," he says. The jobs are low-paying, workers are closely monitored, and the businesses can easily pull up stakes and move away. Plus, it's about people who "bug you at home, wanting to sell you a product," says Strapp.

But in 1993, when Algoma was in the throes

## NORTH AND SOUTH



of downsizing and rapidly cutting jobs, at most 3,000 people in the Sault were on welfare as collecting employment assistance. Soon after, the city launched a targeted campaign, and as Strapp says, "it took gold" when RMI Telecentre Inc., a Pennsylvania-based company that operates call centres in the U.S., Canada, India and the Philippines, set up shop in 1999. Three other companies, two U.S.-based and one Canadian, followed suit. "The call centres really knocked the welfare and unemployment rolls down," Strapp says. Strapp, who wears a diamond earring with four tiny diamonds unplanned into it, is a not-so-creaky optimist. He predicts that by the end of 2004, call centres



## Ten Lost Years Sault Ste. Marie

in the bush will employ 3,000 people, with an annual payroll of \$60 million.

Compare that number to Algoma Steel's labour costs, and you begin to understand the economic impact on the community. Last year, for the same number of employees, Algoma paid roughly \$250 million for labour, including pension benefits, or more than four times the amount of money put into the pockets of employees by oil cost cuts. While the oil centres have benefited much of the employment gap created by Algoma Steel's downsizing, they come nowhere near the steel mill in terms of creating wealth in the city.

On a rainy evening a couple of weeks ago, much of Stephen Simon's family gathered for dinner. Simon, 36, has five adult offspring—two from his first marriage and now, with his wife Lila, three stepkids. His home, a two-storey frame house, is designed for family. Simon bought the house from his father in 1995, after his first marriage ended. Three sets of bag the walls in the front room, along with a couple of well-used La Z-Boys. Photos of his kids and grandkids are lined up on top of the TV cabinet. In the kitchen is a table large enough to seat a dozen people. Over rice, roast chicken and veal, the family discussed the experience of the current generation attending the wedding with that of Simon's generation.

As a young man, Simon had a host of options. In 1974, when he was 20 and a graduate of a technical technology diploma program, he had a job offer from Bell Canada at \$2,600 a year, and a chance of career advancement, with a starting salary of \$31,000 a year, at Algoma Steel. (He'd been accepted by three universities, but, his because he'd been identified as a student leader—he was Lila's brother, an Algoma Steel machanic, and once much money—he took the steel route.) Simon chose an apprenticeship in construction, leading to an uncompleted 30-year run as an Algoma Steel tradesman. He says he'll retire in five years.

The expense of Simon's son and namesake, Stephen Jr., 23, stands in sharp contrast. He graduated from high school a half a semester early. He doesn't know how hard it will be not to waste talent, rather, when he was 15, he broke both legs in a snowmobile accident, and he could do little more than



Stephen Simon can support his family, but Stephen Jr. (top) may have to leave the Sault.

spend his time studying in the library. Since then, he's earned two diplomas, one in art and another in computer science, and is now a police officer. Stephen Jr. plans to travel and work. He's visited in his uncle's bakery and taken a security officer for a private firm, and was a member of the volunteer fire department.

Today, for \$10 an hour, he works the nights at RMI. Simon's job is to provide technical help to callers on the U.S. who are having trouble with their MSN dial-up Internet connection. "It's nothing new if fun to be in an office (over receiving calls from overseas Americans—the only ones I'd speak

this job is to pay my bills," says Simon, whose student loans added up to \$10,000. "This job really has no impact on my future."

Simon isn't looking for sympathy. "It's worse about the past as you sit and try to make the rest of your life up," he says. He expects his future lies outside the Sault. He's exploring options in Alberta oil patch and in southern Ontario, there's also a possibility he may work for a friend who's starting up a big gun company. "I'd pay myself more anywhere just to get a career. My options are really not in the Sault."

Cassidy Fernandez says all of her high school friends have left the Sault. She's not certain how long she'll be staying herself. Ironically, she's never encouraged to stay. Her parents, who emigrated from Malaysia when Cassidy was six years old, "always thought there were better opportunities elsewhere, like Toronto or Vancouver," she says. "That's why they came to Canada, and could have a better life than they did."

For now, she says, she wants to remain because of her mother. But it's a problem, she adds, because she doesn't know how long she can last. She has contract work until July, although she's fairly confident the university will offer her contract next September.

The course she teaches is economic and social development in southern Ontario communities. She says a little industry has grown up around attracting jobs to Sault Ste. Marie, and called, about the same and reports about the city's woes have been going down the years. She laughs and says the irony, both professional and personal, "I just put it down. And, I look for work in my spare time." With benefits, probably.

kerlene.mackinnon@magnum.ca

**THE CITY** has managed to attract call centres, a development viewed by many as a mixed blessing

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# HARPER'S ELECTION TO LOSE

Martin blew it when he treated the new Conservatives as easy roadkill

OF STEPHEN HARPER'S victory, none is more compelling than the fact he is not Stephen Harper. Unlike his Red Deer predecessor (and Calgary Mayor Manning before that), the sophisticated Harper is not interested in inheriting the victory, but in governing it. Harper is after cold hard votes, not ideological, ideological or any other extraneous rail routes.

Paul Martin's greatest and perhaps irredeemable error during the dusty start of his election campaign was to trust Harper as yet another western populist whose Liberal party machine would quickly reduce to roadkill. This just proved that the Prime Minister and his advisors were hanging them selves in a noose of stale and false reality. Anyone who has ever vigily followed Harper's career recognizes that this is a different breed of political cat: he may not be charismatic enough to lay down convincing terms of endorsement, but he is a perfectly legitimate and honourable alternative to an inept cheerleader like Jean Chrétien, and even to Martin.

Unfortunately for the Prime Minister, who's taking office (some business to say "power" that he hasn't exercised) he has continued to rely on his Newfoundland consultant who doctors who formed an ideological unit for his 13-year fall and development in ideology. Chretien, from this on, is not, they lay one reality behind prevailing events, this is a campaign to win people's hearts and minds, not to make the other guy.

The Martin people's early campaign two-faced Canadian voters to take good look at Harper, pressure they would discover. Stephen Harper's done well in the agenda. (They forget that Day's problem was not that he had a hidden agenda, but that he didn't keep it hidden, allowing voters to reject his off centre views on religion, capital punishment, abortion, immigration and domestic pressing ones.) (In Harper's case, the voters so far have liked what they've seen.

One advantage their Canadian voters



His main achievement so far has been to unite most Conservatives under one banner

substantially recognize in Harper that no one dare mention is that, except for the resolving doorkeepers of John Zarnke, Joe Clark and Kim Campbell, he would be our first prime minister in 35 years who wasn't a Quebec-based anticlerical lawyer. We need some variety.

It remains an open question whether

**HAD Harper been in power at the time, we certainly would have sent Canadian troops into the Iraqi abattoir**

Harper can overcome his Alberta-oriented view of the world. The province where he received his political education celebrates rugged individualism and a personal sense of freedom that the reality otherwise says who inhibit Central Canada (and even Toronto). Successful federal politicians must rule the signs of the nation's profound regional differences. The end of centristism that Harper championed has its limits as a populist crusade. Ministers demand government, but expect much from it. New federalism is a category of one. One hopes demand they be treated with the respect due a foreign legion. To Ontario's universities, social conservatism is taboo. British Columbia's two founding mavericks are China and India, so forget about steering the Asian tide.

So far, Harper's main achievement has

## NOTICE OF CERTIFICATION AND SETTLEMENT OFFER TO OWNERS OF CERTAIN PLASTIC PLUMBING AND HEATING SYSTEMS SOMETHES REFERRED TO AS POLYBUTYLENE PLUMBING AND HEATING SYSTEMS

### THIS NOTICE MAY AFFECT YOUR LEGAL RIGHTS - PLEASE READ THIS NOTICE CAREFULLY

#### Who should read this notice

You should read this notice if you own or possess certain of any real property structures in Canada with a polybutylene plumbing and/or heating system with actual plastic burst fittings. The polybutylene plumbing and/or heating system covered by this notice generally consists of plastic pipe made of polybutylene and gray plastic fittings made of metal that may, but do not necessarily, carry the following markings: Bow, G, BG, W, A-1.

#### Why this notice has been published

Legal proceedings were initiated in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec relating to polybutylene plumbing and heating systems in Canadian provinces by certain past or present property owners. Those owners brought to a settlement with one of the three defendants in these legal proceedings, El DuPont de Nemours and Company ("DuPont USA").

#### Settlement Agreement

A settlement approval hearings in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec: the Courts certified class proceedings against DuPont USA solely for purposes of settlement and approved the settlement with DuPont USA. The Courts also approved representative plaintiffs and settlement class definitions.

#### Settlement Class

You are a member of the settlement class if you are a person or entity who on or after the date of this publication of this legal notice:

(1) who owns or who previously owned any improvements to real property or structures in any of the Canadian provinces or territories in which there is or was during the time of such ownership, a polybutylene plumbing system with actual metal fittings; and/or

(2) who owns or who previously owned any improvements to real property or structures in any of the Canadian provinces or territories in which there is or was during the time of such ownership, a polybutylene heating system with actual metal fittings;

subject to certain exclusions in the DuPont USA Settlement Agreement. The class does not include persons or entities who submit a timely request to opt out from the class, in accordance with the directions below.

If you are a class member, your rights against DuPont USA will be affected by the settlement. Your rights against the other defendants in the litigation, Shell Oil Company ("Shell") and Westcoast Corporation ("Westcoast"), may also be affected.

#### No Admission of Liability

DuPont USA does not admit any wrongdoing or liability in its part. The settlement is a compromise of disputed claims against DuPont USA and is only a partial settlement of the legal proceedings. Shell has entered into a separate settlement with Class Counsel, which is in the process of approval by the Courts. To learn about the terms of the settlement and the proceedings against the other defendants Shell and Westcoast, who are not participants in the DuPont USA settlement, you should contact Class Counsel (see below for contact information).

#### Settlement Terms

Under the terms of the DuPont USA Settlement Agreement, DuPont USA will fund up to CND\$35 million for payments to class members subject to terms, conditions and limitations. DuPont USA will pay 25% of the cost of a replacement of a polybutylene plumbing system and damage caused by a leak in a polybutylene plumbing system of a class member who meets the requirements, including completion of a replacement DuPont USA will also pay part of the cost of repair of a polybutylene heating system of a class member who meets the requirements. DuPont USA will also pay the expenses of removing a fitting for repairing and bracing claims, subject to certain limitations. DuPont USA will also pay amounts of Class Counsel on costs with the claims against DuPont USA of CND\$35,000,000, as approved by the Courts.

A copy of the complete DuPont USA Settlement Agreement and information about how to make a claim are posted at <http://www.polybutylene.ca> and can also be obtained by calling the toll-free number at 1-866-889-8899. If you are a member whether you have a plumbing or heating system covered by this notice, you can obtain pictures of the pipe and fittings at the website. By calling the toll-free 866 number or consulting Class Counsel at the addresses below, a copy of the Settlement Agreement is also available at the conference in Quebec City.

#### Opting-Out of the Settlement

If you are a person or entity who is the class definition above, but do not wish to take part in the DuPont USA settlement, you may opt out by returning to us your form postmarked on or before August 11, 2004. A DuPont USA class member may obtain the opt out form at <http://www.polybutylene.ca> or by calling the toll-free number at 1-866-889-8899.

No person may opt out on or on behalf of a person or entity without permission of the Court after notice to the Children's Lawyer under the Public Guardian and Trustee.

#### Prohibition Against Further Action

Each class member will be conclusively deemed to have released DuPont USA from all claims relating to polybutylene plumbing or heating systems and will be bound from asserting any further claims against DuPont USA in connection with these systems. Rights against the other defendants may also be affected.

#### Additional Information and Questions for Class Counsel

Do not contact the Courts about this notice or the proceedings. Please address requests for additional information and any questions to Class Counsel:

#### British Columbia

James Poyner  
Poyner Chester Poyner  
404 - 145 Chiswell Court  
North Vancouver, BC V7M 3K1  
Tel: (604) 982-8126  
Fax: (604) 984-3032  
j.poyner@bcnet.ca

#### Class Approving Notice

This Notice has been approved by the following Courts:  
• Ontario Superior Court of Justice  
• Superior Court of British Columbia  
• Quebec Superior Court of Justice

#### Quebec

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Suzanne Desautels  
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#### Ontario and all other Provinces and Territories (except British Columbia and Quebec)

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Peter C. Newman >

been to join the Conservatives, or most of them, under one banner. That was not an incommensurate achievement. I remember hearing Conservative leader Joe Clark aboard his campaign bus during the 2000 election and asking why he was so adamantly opposed to any coalition with the Canadian Alliance. "The Alliance party is fundamentally illiterate," he said. "It is an alliance of people who don't like other people, the very opposite of the coalition that characterizes our party."

Strangely, Tilly's support throughout rural Ontario gave the anti-Liberal vote, allowing Chretien to smother yet another Ontario-based majority (Although he won three successive victories, it was the existence of a divided right-wing vote that allowed him to do so with only 38.5 per cent of the national vote in 1997 and 40.8 per cent in 2000). That voting split might have kept the Liberals in power forever, or at least until Clark's Liberalism had reduced it to an insubstantial family. Now that Joe is no longer a factor, the distance of ridings in rural and small-town Ontario may well continue to be the key to a Harper majority. The massive shift from Liberal to Conservative support in Ontario is one of the most dramatic developments I have witnessed in nearly half a century of covering Canadian elections.

That doesn't mean I don't have doubts about some of Harper's intentions and parameters. Had he been in power at the time, we certainly would have sent Canadian troops into the Iraq mission. His party's promise to "enhance our NATO relationship with the United States" scores the hell out of me. The next logical step would be a customs union or in a first step toward a common market—and that would seriously threaten what's left of Canadian sovereignty.

At least as high-minded as the movement made at the end of May by Steven Monahan, deputy national director of the federal Liberals, are the confidants that when Canadians are asked which prime minister they want, they will choose Paul Martin with a comfortable (if not total) majority. "It is my firm conviction that the last thing Canadians want in this election is to get any politician as 'comfortable' majority or 'comfortable' anything else. We want to make our politicians as uncomfortable as they make us."

One of the great joys of the election

call is why Martin pulled the plug before establishing his authority and prime ministerial presence, so there would be some reason for returning an incumbent. (My reluctant conclusion is that he went to the people because he suspected worse scandal was in the pipeline.) Instead of making things his own, he squandered his political honeymoon by embracing himself as the savior of the sponsorship scandal and alienated the voters' sympathies and those who had produced a vote of Liberal victory at the polls.

The Liberals' problem is trust. Martin kept emphasizing that values are more important than policies. Of course they are, but that's where reality TV comes in: The favour of the year in television programming has altered our perceptions. We expect reality not just on the boob tube but in real life. It's no longer enough for campaign politicians to make a moral (as Pierre Trudeau did) when we know that politicians really about making favours in backrooms. The Prime Minister's only chance is to establish in voters' minds that he genuinely

**CANADIANS** are demanding change and want some hint of vision, lacking during the past decade, from their leaders

believes in fundamental change, especially in eliminating the gross excesses in government by some of his predecessors. A start might be so much Harper's offer of appointing Canada's ambassador to Washington as a minister by naming Andrew Gonzalez Foster to cabinet.

Canadians run away from radical reformers. But they are demanding change and want some hint of vision from their leaders. That element has been singularly lacking during the past decade. Political parties should earn mandates based on some principles inspiring the stability of their opponents to form governments.

At this point, it looks like Paul Martin can't win the election. Stephen Harper can only lose it.

Peter C. Newman's column appears monthly on [www.cbc.ca/macleans](http://www.cbc.ca/macleans)

Column | DONALD COKE



## IGNORE THE FEAR-MONGERS

A minority government is no threat to the economy or the loonie

**DO CANADIANS** have an acute sense about the dangers of being ruled by any party except the Liberals? Since the election was called, I've been from Victoria to St. John's with stops in Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, everywhere I've encountered concern that anything but a continuation of the Liberal majority would be bad news for Canada's financial markets.

Among the worst fears are people who've longed for a united right party that could challenge the Liberals' perceived monopoly in Ottawa. Yet they fear that a Paul

Martin minority or—even farther—a Stephen Harper minority, would both the loonie and drive down the price of Canadian bonds and stocks. The Bible notes, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," which, I think, why some small "C" conservatives are facing a case of conscience: "are our heads or our wallets?"

Rejecting Martin's hand for many business people. In part, they feel they should identify with him because he is so reminiscent of the object of a Canadian fear of change. He's the first businessman PM in memory (if ever), and he's a globe-trotter who speaks modernity and a recognition of the challenges Canada faces in the age of WTO and a fast-emerging Asia. These traits opened

doors to him and his family for future successful shipping operations by law-of-the-land of the right and left. But, as he reminds that the call people understand (beyond the brilliant bluster), a victory by U.S. remains a no-common Canadian affliction.

But does that mean that election of a minority government (headed by either of the major parties) would be perceived at home and abroad—as a degradation of Canada's commitment to economic progress based on limited government and open markets?

How could it, when the Conservatives were the champion of Canada's U.S. free trade, and were defeated by a Liberal party that talked of leveling up the free trade agreement? What happened was that Martin and Jean Chretien had a sudden, simultaneous onset of openness (A useful word it means "learning acquired late in life")

Their conversion to Conservative principles of trade doesn't mean they are the only ones to hold this view, so the most crucial component of the Canadian economy—made with the U.S.—would hardly be harmed by an election surprise. Indeed, given the Clinton government's occasional displays of unbecomingly American, a strong showing by the Conservatives might actually help Canada's image in the market (as does 55 per cent of U.S. exports).

But, as the saying is, a minority government would mean reliance on either the NDP or the Bloc Quebecois, and that would mean a legislative agenda dictated by extremists. The loonie would rise and step down and a second election would restore normalcy. Not bloody likely.

**GIVEN THE** Chretien government's occasional displays of anti-Americanism, a strong showing by the Conservatives might actually help Canada's image in the market

Canadians panic in the election that 99 per cent of the factors affecting their country's value are foreign-born. Therefore, when the loonie traded below US\$6 cents, it was the worst judgment on the "loonie" policies of Canadian governments. Was Martin to blame then? Was he the loonie's savior when it finally soared?

The reality is that the Canadian dollar has underperformed (in terms of the greenback) against such disparate currencies as the Australian and New Zealand dollars and the euro. Yet, the euro (that currency used by a collection of idiosyncratic, delusional and

unpredictable economies) has soared against the loonie since just above the seven. The loonie down at a time when nearly all the world's currencies were plunging against the then-strength U.S. dollar. Now, the greenback is in the early stages of a bear market that will more than wipe out its gains of the 1990s. So the loonie will soar now, even the Euros and falls briefly in response to currency traders' knee-jerk reactions to a confused election result.

But don't mistake fear for uncertainty. Yes, but, apart from brief trading anomalies, markets move mostly in response to the direction of economic and financial forces. Canada's economy, and the profits earned by Canadian business people, would be only slightly affected—if at all—by an outcome that would shock the chattering class as who seems to sleep severely only when the world unfolds as a should and Liberal rule unopposed. What about a federal legislation we have been promised? It's been passed after party wrangling but that had news for our back?

Look back at the Roman era when Romans allowed for a year over the top. The dollar and the loonie trading up through Parliament. But the economy was very strong then, a performance due, at least in part, to business's freedom from new laws and new intrusions. Without having Canada to blame

for uncertainty, looking new capital spending and new investments, business people put on with their jobs, and the result was rewarding for all but politicians, lobbyists, bureaucrats and special interests. Those were the days, my friend.

Any election-driven damage to Canadian financial assets will be a happy opportunity. Worry not. Wipe your head and your hair.

Your reader is safe.

Donald Coke is chairman of Harte Investments Management in Chicago and of Toronto-based Jervis Financial Investments, diversified investment

# 'A FRIEND WELOVED'

Brian Mulroney honours Ronald Reagan's impact on the world—and on him

From 1984 to 1986, Ronald Reagan and Brian Mulroney dealt often with each other in their respective capacities as president of the United States and prime minister of Canada. That relationship blossomed into a warm, friendship shared by their wives. Last week, Mulroney hosted a group of four people to deliver eulogies at that great man's funeral in Washington. Excerpt:

**IN THE SPRING** of 1987, President Reagan and I were driven into a large hangar at the Ottawa airport to await the arrival of Mrs. Reagan and my wife, Mita, prior to departure ceremonies for their return to Washington. We were alone except for the security details.

President Reagan's visit had been important, demanding and successful. Our discussions reflected the international agenda of the times: the nuclear threat posed by the Soviet Union and the missile deployment by NATO, pressures in the Western Pacific, challenges resulting from the Berlin Wall and the ongoing separation of Germany, and bilateral and hemisphere free trade.

President Reagan had spoken to Parks Road, handled complex files with skill and good humour—so easily expressing his Canadian hosts—and here we were, waiting for our wives. When their car drove in a secretariat, our stopped Nancy and Mita—looking like a million bucks. As they looked towards us, President Reagan beamed, those hours seemed my shoulder and said with a grin: "You know, Brian, for two Irishmen, we sure married up."

In that visit—in that moment—one saw the quintessential Ronald Reagan: the leader we respected, the neighbour we admired, and the friend we loved. A president of the United States of America whose truly remarkable life we celebrate in this great cathedral today.

Presidents and prime ministers everywhere sometimes wonder how history will deal with them. Some even expect a touch of the inaccuracy of Thomas of Avey McGee, an Irish immigrant to Canada, who became a Father of our Confederation. In one of his



Reagan and Mulroney (before in 1985) pictured the Canada-U.S. free trade deal

poems, McGee, thinking of his birthplace, wrote poignantly:

*Am I remembered in Erin  
I charge you, guard me true  
For my name is sacred, a meaning  
In the secret my high school knew  
Ronald Reagan will not have to worry  
about Erin because they remember him well  
and affectionately there. Indeed they do  
from Tim to Toronto, from Maryland to  
Madagascar from Montreal to Monterey  
Ronald Reagan does not enter history  
reticently—he does so with curiosity and  
pride. At home and on the world stage,  
he was not the joyful richness of a nation's  
politician. They were the bold statesmen*

**REAGAN** threw his arm around my shoulder and said with a grin: "Brian, for two Irishmen, we sure married up!"

of a confident and accomplished leader. Some in the West during the early '80s believed Communism and democracy were equally valid and viable. This was the school of "moral equivalence." In contrast, Ronald Reagan saw Soviet Communism as a force to be confronted in the genuine belief that its squid-like underpinnings would fill with to the gathering winds of freedom. Provided, as he said, that NATO and the Western industrialized democracies stood firm and united. They did. And we know now who was right.

Ronald Reagan was a president who inspired his nation and transformed the world. He presented a rare and proud gift called leadership—that ineffable and sometimes magical quality that sets some men and women apart so that millions will follow them as they conjure up grand visions and invite their countrymen to dream big and exciting dreams.

I always thought that President Reagan's understanding of the nobility of the presidency coincided with the American Dream.

One day President Eisenhower, in referring to President Reagan, said: "He reinvented the nation's dream." Rough translation: "He



Flanked by a whirlwind of present and past administrations, Reagan's casket is carried from funeral services at the National Cathedral

really has a sense of the State about him." The translation does not fully capture the profundity of the observation: what President Eisenhower meant was that there is a vast difference between the job of president and the role of president.

Ronald Reagan fulfilled both with elegance and ease, embodying himself that unusual alchemy of history, tradition, achievement, unassuming conduct and national pride that define the special role the president of the United States must assume at home and

around the world. "Let everyone [that]—as one understood it better than Ronald Reagan, and no one could more eloquently was man his nation to high purpose or bring forth the majesty of the presidency and make it glow better than the man who saw his country in a 'shining city on a hill'."

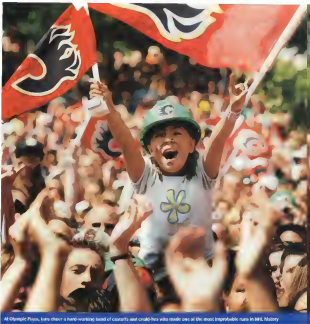
I have been blessed to have had a friend like Ronald Reagan. I am grateful that our paths crossed and our lives touched. I shall always remember him with deep affection and affection and I shall always feel honoured

by the journey we travelled together to search of better and more peaceful tomorrow for all God's children, everywhere.

And so, in the presence of his beloved and indispensable Nancy, his children, friends and the American people he so deeply revered, I say as never today to a gifted leader, his toric president and gracious human being. And I do so with a love from years who wrote:

*Think where you'll glory most begins and ends / And say my glory was I had such friends*





At Olympic Flare, fans cheer a hard-working band of cowards and cranks who made one of the most improbable runs in NHL history

**IT'S A MEMORY I'LL ALWAYS CHERISH.** As a struggling mom of Giana 7, the Calgary Flames roved it up one last time. The team was in Tampa Bay, 1,500 miles away at the Pengrowth Saddledome, watching the game on giant TV screens along with my wife and our sons, Julian, 10, and Daniel, 11, and more than 15,000 ad-clad hockey fans. In a surreal scene, the firm stood and cheered, did the wave and started Tampa's brilliant gothic, *Nikola Kholodenko*—as if their psychic vibes might be felt in distant Florida, sporting

the Flames to score that crucial tying goal. I looked at my sons, who had joined us, the first day or after their faces. Magic.

In the storybook version, the one we all imagined, a Flames marauder connects with seconds to spare, the team clinches it in overtime and Jarome Iginla holds the Stanley Cup. But know what? Reality isn't so bad. Calgarians like to drink off their woes at our do-soppress and last week they lived up to the billing. No post-game net. Little second-guessing on the radio (except, of course, of the refs). Lots of appreciation for how a third-winger, now-deposed group of snafus and could-be made one of the most improbable Cup runs in NHL history—and came oh, so close, to pulling it off.

Sure, there was disappointment, even tears, but by the time some 30,000 people—many of them kids enjoying a bit of sanctioned hockey—converged on Calgary's Olympic

Flames for a moon-time rally last Wednesday, all negative thoughts had been banished. "They're winners in our hearts," said Terri Loretto, brandishing a Flames flag and with her young nephew and niece in tow. "They got the whole city excited. It's been amazing."

The feeling was mutual. The entire Flames squad showed up, standing on stage decked in red jerseys and white capes they had white fans cheered, for one last time this season, "Go Flames, Go!" Iginla, the captain, spoke with obvious emotion. "This is truly unbelievable," he said. "Blue guys helped make this year and this run the best of our lives."

The rally was fitting fresh to a two-month long low in that once business say could pay big dividends. "You can't buy that kind of publicity," says Richard White, executive director of the Calgary Downtown Association. White is talking about the images

beamed across North America and abroad of a city in thrall to its hockey team. A place where it seemed every second vehicle bore a Flames flag and where thousands screamed along 17th Avenue—dubbed "The Red Mile"—to celebrate every victory or commiserate over another. "It's shown Calgary as a young, exciting place to be," says White. In some cases, perhaps a bit less exciting, as evidenced by the now-infamous Web site documenting female Flames fans having all, giving Calgary more international exposure than any city on the map ever did.

While the Capran was great for the hometown and near-miraculous Red Mile rallies, its most lasting impact will be on the team's own younger athletes. Their enthusiasm was everywhere. At a piano recital where a boy who played like a prodigy betrayed another piano by proudly wearing his Flames jersey. At a community league soccer match where Florida kept an ear-cooled to a radio broadcast of that night's playoff game. Or in the faces of anyone on the dying streets of that heart-wrenching final Tampa may have the Cup, but the sheer love of

hockey—they can never take that away. **B**

## TROPHIES FOR THE TAMPA GUYS

Tampa Bay and Calgary were back at it when the NHL handed out its awards last week, with similar results. But having traded goals and shots for black ties and bowties, the contestants behaved like perfect gentlemen. Three nights after Tampa Bay won the Stanley Cup, Brad Richards, the playoffs' most-esteemed player, captured the trophy for sportsmanship. Tampa Bay's John Tortorella won coach-of-the-year honors over the Flames' Darryl Sutter. And ex-Flame Martin St. Louis was named regular-season MVP, leaving Calgary captain Jarome Iginla.



# RED MILE RHAPSODY

The Flames nearly brought the Stanley Cup home, and grateful Calgary gave thanks

**CIALIS** *is* **HERE.**



Special Report

# HEALTH CARE THAT WORKS



**SPEED COUNTS.** Whether it's extracting a tiny infant early from the womb so he can have a life-saving heart transplant, or racing a potential stroke victim to the appropriate ER for the exact dosage of clot-busters. But Canada's health care system is about more than the latest technique or even the billions in future spending that election-bound leaders are promising with no little abandon. Step closer, it's also about the innovators, the inspirers and the (controlled) risk-takers—those individuals or institutions that have moved the yardsticks of care.

Canada's health care system is one of the best in the world. For Sick Kids' success stories.

To find them, we consulted university experts from St. John's to Vancouver and also the folks at CHH, the Canadian Institute for Health Information, our partners in the previous *Maclean's* Health Reports. Their suggestions provided an insurance co-insurance to a health system that last year cost an estimated \$121.4 billion, or 10 per cent of the gross domestic product—a high that was matched only once before, in 1992, just before Drenth turned down the spending taps.

Make no mistake: This is a system under siege. As CHH itself put it, pined, costs are up, the health care workforce is aging, but still wait times are still a huge issue. On top of that there appear to be

growing problems with patient safety. One in nine adults reported receiving the wrong medication or dosage. The same number contracted infections while in hospital for something else. Still, you don't have to look far for lessons in urgency, innovation and immense tough love. Here are 10 of them. But they come with a warning that even excellence is a fragile flower in today's climate. We had hoped to focus on a comprehensive Montreal program for helping the frail elderly in their homes. The pilot project seemed nice enough—no clients were spending less time in hospitals—but, alas, Quebec could not afford to keep it going. It alone opened a province-wide



HAND SPECIALISTS IN TORONTO

## Magic of making patients whole again

**IT WAS A SMALL** epiphany. While washing her face one morning, Eva Robles-Harris stopped short. "Oh my god," she says, recounting her reaction as she drew the water upwards in her cupped hands. "What is this?" This was the puke of her right hand—something she hadn't really seen for 14 years, since rheumatoid arthritis had prevented her from raising her forearm. The same condition had displaced the 45-year-old former office worker's fingers, causing them to slope awkwardly toward her thumb, and weakening her swollen hand with pain. Getting food was such a torture that, when friends weren't around to help, she'd simply go hungry. But now her operation at Toronto West-

ern Hospital's hand division February changed all that. It is, says Robles-Harris, "a miracle." Surgeon and program director Dr. Aron Gershwin claims no magical power. "We're just very skilled at what we do," he says. That's because the program's four surgeons and 11 physiotherapists focus exclusively on the hardest forearm and hand, a more degree of specialization. And with up to 5,000 patients a year—who suffer everything from carpal tunnel syndrome to paralysis to severed digits—they get lots of practice.

A jumble of bones, nerves and tendons, the hand demands procedures that bridge orthopedic, plastic and neurological skills. Gershwin regularly treats professional ath-

letes, performing arthro and other surgeries by sewing up nerves and reattaching bones. Last year, he reattached the two arms of a Toronto woman who had been attacked by a neighbour with a machete.

Up to 40 per cent of the program's patients arrive with work-related injuries, like a finger or thumb lost to saws or other machinery. Spring, when the construction industry goes up, is often its "recruitment season." In a three-week period this May, Gershwin performed six of these. One case involved a man whose thumb had been crushed by a 500-tonne press. "In a lot of places," he says, that thumb "would just be thrown in the garbage. Not here." When a thumb can't be saved, however, "we may bring up a toe" and use that in the thumb's place—ingenious, if not miraculous, solutions. **SUE FERGUSON**



HIGH-TECH CARE IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND

Twillingate in Newfoundland, N.S., is home to a hospital that serves 1,000 people.

## Faraway experts, local diagnosis

**TWILLINGATE**, on Newfoundland's north coast, is the sort of place where picture-perfect seascapes drift spectacularly past the harbour. It's also the sort of place that's large enough and remote enough to warrant its own hospital. The 100-bed Bay Memorial Health Centre is one of the first things you see on the way into town on the road from St. John's, 515 hours to the south. That isolation, however, has meant that the 44-bed facility has traditionally had a hard time finding—and keeping—doctors. Dr. Mohamed Boudia, senior medical officer at the health centre, is a notable exception. Trained in Zanzibar, he landed in Newfoundland in 1984 to fill a temporary opening, and stayed. He offers a diplomatic explanation of why so many other doctors left: "TV prefer that the majority of people who had passed through here had stayed—but for reasons of professional development, spousal issues, family connections or whatever, they don't tend to be interested."

Whether the reason does or then rural

areas, the problem is not unique to Newfoundland. There's a shortage of physicians in many remote regions of Canada—a serious impediment to providing rural residents with suitable treatment close to home. But in Twillingate, the tide has started to turn. For once there's the full complement of seven doctors on staff. They're staying thanks to an innovative use of teams that reduce their workload as well as drive some of professional isolation. A patient may see any of a number of health-care providers, from nurse practitioners and pharmacists to physiotherapists and social workers, in addition to—or instead of—a doctor. The health centre is one of seven in Newfoundland and Labrador that has adopted this integrated approach, putting the province at the forefront of a nationwide move to revolutionize the traditional physician-centred model of patient care.

"The system wouldn't work without modern technology. Through satellite and dedicated digital connections, doctors in Twil-

lingate can be in immediate contact with their peers. For instance, they can send digital X-rays to an orthopaedic specialist in Gander for advice on a possible fracture instead of sending the patient there. An X-ray's plus drive is an ambulance. The technology also enables Ravalia to be at the faculty at Memorial University's medical school, even though the school is 400 km away.

Also crucial to making the system work are nurse practitioners. Specially trained to take over some traditional doctors' duties, they can do routine procedures such as screening for high blood pressure and provide regular care for such conditions as diabetes and asthma. And prevention, Ravalia points out, is both cheaper and easier—and more likely to fall into regular office hours—than critical care. That's a very tangible benefit for rural doctors. "I don't have to be here every second night, every third night, and that's critical," says Ravalia. Still, at the end of a Saturday morning interview, he keeps his thoughts around his neck and heads off to check on his patients—even though it's actually his day off. Says the doctor, "I have found my steps." **RUSSELL HARRISON**

NEW WAY OF FIXING Knees IN CALGARY

## From hip replacement to hip repair

**ALBERTA COURT** of Queenly Berch, Justice Sal Lefkovich, 60, has always been an active kind of guy. A former McGill University football player, Lefkovich enjoys biking, hiking, golfing and skiing. In recent years, though, he has been plagued by osteoarthritis to debilitating that he was scheduled to undergo full hip replacement a year ago. While the operation promised to relieve his pain and let him walk, it would also severely restrict his athletic pursuits, something Lefkovich was loath to accept. "I was very much in denial," he says. "I was convinced I'd live this somehow."

Lefkovich then learned about an alternative—unconventional—procedure being offered by seven Calgary orthopaedic surgeons at Rockyview General Hospital. Known as Birmingham Hip Resurfacing—after the English city where it was pioneered—it's a less invasive operation. A total hip replacement involves the head of the thigh bone (the femur) and replaces it with an implant and a stem inserted into the bone, as well as an artificial socket. The Birmingham procedure leaves most of the head of the femur intact but resurfaces it with a metal cap that fits into a metal socket. Because less bone is removed, the patient has greater flexibility and can do more.

The real advantage, though, is that if the Birmingham procedure should wear out, it can be succeeded by a regular hip replacement because there is enough of the femur left to work with. As regular hip operations tend to last only 10 to 15 years—and the implants are almost impossible to replace—they are less than ideal options for relatively younger patients who fear spending their declining years in a wheelchair.

Calgary surgeons performed 65 of the Birmingham hip operations last year, and about 125 are slated for the province this year. (A handful have been done in other parts of the country.) The procedure is aimed at younger patients who can look forward to much more quality and less quality of life. Lefkovich had his hip operation in March 2003, the maximum patient age for Alberta's

metal hip born as 55. And he is more than pleased by the results. Out of bed the day after the operation, and back at work within two weeks, he hit the ski slopes several times this winter.

But while early results are encouraging, the Birmingham procedure is still considered experimental in Canada. "It's not the first research benchmark, which is to say it was run in a research trial," says surgeon Cy Frank, head of the recently launched Alberta Bone and Joint Health Institute. "That's why we've decided to do a limited number and monitor them very closely."

Banckilled by a \$125-million provincial grant, as well as private donations, the institute will help identify the right candidates for the Birmingham procedure and track their progress afterward. But it also has a much broader mission: to transform how a host of musculoskeletal afflictions—arthritis and back pain being the most common—are dealt with in Alberta. And, potentially across the country. The goals are both specific and ambitious, including not during the work time to let an orthopaedic surgeon from the institute treat 12 patients to a guaranteed 35 days.

“Doctors with afflicted patients will be able to pick up a bone plate and talk to an orthopaedic surgeon.”

How would this work? The key, says Frank, is getting your patients get referred to the right provider for the right reasons as quickly as possible. To that end, family doctors faced with symptoms suggesting a patient has a bone or joint affliction will be able to pick up the bone ligament “bone plate” and talk directly to an orthopaedic surgeon. As well, starting in September, home and joint team clinics will bring up throughout Alberta as nurses and physical therapists, along with the program, encourage patients to work the program on their own. “If surgery isn’t warranted, patients will be given a plan to follow with their own physician.”

Frank expects to see tangible results within a year. “We believe we are creating a model others may want to follow,” he says. “It’s about doing only what works and stopping doing what doesn’t work. We think that’s an innovative idea.” **IRIS ROSEMAN**



TODAY-LIKE DEBATE IN VANCOUVER

The former World Laurence was once told his body was beyond salvage. But it's not now. (Lefkovich)

## Mike Harcourt walked (again) here

**WALT LAWRENCE**, 53, wrote the columns of Vancouver's G.F. Strong Rehabilitation Centre, offering the hurt, the frightened and the wounded his fellow kind of practical advice, sympathy and back-burner opinion. Lawrence, a full-time “peer mentor” at B.C.’s remarkable health sciences centre, is a man of many parts. He has no more rent of arms, legs or torso, the result of an invasive fire and a broken back. A 17-year-old. He takes care of business—driving his chair, answering his phone, turning on appliances—by puffing or tapping on one of several zones mapped in front of his mouth. “On the surface, I’m pretty damn scary,” he says. But the second expression people have

of Lawrence, as an smiling colleague likes to say, is how “unbelievable” he actually is. Lawrence embodies the spirit of his centre, based in an aging, three-story complex in a time-honored city neighborhood. It is a full-time care. Clients have come suffered profound, life-altering events—broken spines, amputations, brain damage, strokes. And yet, G.F. Strong, with his (re)birth of medical staff, thousands of every sort, exultation, technician, clinician and volunteer—where lives are rebuilt and independence regained. Former B.C. premier Mike Harcourt walked out of here on crutches on Feb. 28, 2001, just three months after a devastating fall at his cottage had left him a partial quadriplegic. He credited his recovery in part to a heavy load of physiotherapy, occupational therapy and other care that at G.F. Strong. “The regime here

works,” he told reporters as he left. He also cited—perhaps the key to what G.F. Strong is successful as is—the inspiration of others. “With his fierce injuries, that mine.” Not everyone walks away, but the aim is to get people home and performing to their potential—a saving to the health system, and a precious benefit to the injured and their families. “We are not about treating an illness, we’re about working with someone’s capabilities,” says senior operating officer Pam Flaherty. “We have to think in the context of their world beyond these walls.” To that end, G.F. Strong offers core exams, recreational therapies and usual rehabilitation services. It’s the only place in the country offering programs for those once thought beyond rehabilitation, people like Lawrence who are at least partially dependent on ventilation to breathe.

Lawrence was once considered beyond salvage because of the severity of his injury 36 years ago. He was expected to live out his days in an institution, hooked to a breathing apparatus. He begged to differ. He’s been awarded from a ventilator escape to sleep. He’s travelled the world. He’s married, with two girls aged 3 and 7. “Life,” he says, “is pretty rich.”

That thought helps motivate Kim Kozel, 67. A sex well knocked her off a set of boat stairs during a Mexican vacation in January, and suddenly her plan for an active retirement included a wheelchair. She credits staff with preparing her for life outside this centre, perhaps by mid-summer, and Lawrence for showing it can have purpose. “You have to fight the idea, ‘Well, I’m limited now,’” she says. “It’s a wonderful thing, example. That’s a north end of your world.” **KIM MACQUEEN**

## STROKE STRIKE IN HAMILTON

## Risky plan to pool stroke patients relies on lickety-split timing

**WITHIN A YEAR**, Ontario plans to have nine regional centres providing dedicated stroke care unlike anything else in Canada. When that happens, Hamilton paramedic Steve Dewar's job will be even more critical than it already is. To make this system work, it's going to be up to front-line medical staff like Dewar to assess whether someone is having a stroke by spotting the key signs: facial droop, unusual weakness on one arm or leg, slurred speech. He then must decide whether to race the patient past other facilities to a designated stroke centre, such as the Hamilton General Hospital—further away but specifically prepared to treat stroke victims. If they get there within two hours of a stroke's onset, doctors will have just enough time for a powerful clot-busting drug, something not every hospital has the

expertise to administer and monitor. The plan, which Dewar is helping develop, is a medical, legal and ethical minefield that relies on seamless good faith and lickety-split timing. But, depending on which way he points his ambulance, the gamble is real. "This plan 'won't' be for a lot of patients," says Dewar.

"But for those that undergo successful treatment, the results will be dramatic versus what, they years ago, would have been very sad."

The do-or-die is just one race as in a three-pronged approach Ontario is taking to battle strokes, Canada's fourth-leading cause of death. The province is also planning prevention clinics to ensure high-risk patients such as diabetics,

smokers and the elderly are not prompted by a accident and receive all the right every-checking tests. Plus it wants to group stroke patients together in specific hospitals to improve the quality of care.

Time has always been critical in treating stroke. Too often, explains Dewar, patients arrive the first warning—the sudden loss of consciousness limits, for example—treating it instead as a nuisance they hope will pass. As the population ages, strokes are expected to rise as an increasing number of Canadians. The system is getting up, but folks are still going to have to recognize the early signs, and, as Dewar likes to say, get to the phone. (JANIS HARRIS/ESSEX)

“Depending on which way Dewar points his ambulance, the results of treatment could be ‘dramatic’”

## FAMILY-CENTRED MEDICINE IN TORONTO

## A place where parents know best

**IT'S BEEN** six months since Allison Jackson's first child was born, but just of that time has been spent in hospital. Madison was born prematurely with a rare liver disease. Two weeks after the came into the world she was rushed by her from Ontario to the neonatal intensive care unit at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto, where doctors discovered malignant tumours in her liver. If she was going to survive, Jackson was told, she would need chemotherapy and a liver transplant.

“It's quite devastating to see what my daughter is going through. But they make you part of the team.”

“It's quite devastating to see what my daughter is going through. But they make you part of the team.”

“It's quite devastating to see what my daughter is going through. But they make you part of the team.”

Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, affectionately called Sick Kids, is one of the country's foremost paediatric hospitals. It's a place where parents know best.

country—and even being considered by a few adult ones trying to get families more active in the direct care and rehabilitation of their loved ones. The key principle, says Christine Churchill, a director of child health services at Sick Kids, is the recognition that when it comes to a child's needs—whether they're physical, emotional or educational—parents are the experts.

For Jackson and White, that means interacting constantly with Madison's care group of doctors, nurses and developmental experts. Any resource the couple needs to educate themselves can be found at the on-site multidisciplinary library for families of parents. “I've requested ever nursing to that I'm working with the same nurses all the time,” says Jackson, as the rocks her sleeping baby.

“It's great because they know your child, her daily needs and your preferred style.” Since many patients and families live at the hospital for prolonged periods, Sick Kids has created an environment as comfortable as possible. The walls are warmly coloured and the family rooms are equipped with games and

DVD players. Jackson and White have been provided with bedding, towels and kitchen facilities. To help them cope with emotional stress, they have access to private and group counselling, “family to family” so call events and very flexible visiting hours for extended family and friends.

Also, no parents can have a permanent visit within the hospital community, Sick Kids has established a Family Advisory Committee. Made up of representative parents and hospital staff, the committee not only evaluates and recommends new policy, but it also plays a key role in educating new medical staff about family-centred care.

According to Barry Tuzar of the University of Calgary, now under contract the family-centred model not only helps families cope but is also cost-effective in the long run. Since families emerge from Sick Kids with a much more sophisticated understanding of their child's illness, he says, they find it easier to locate needed services without wasting a lot of time in the health system.

This month, Madison is getting a transplant of about 25 per cent of her mother's liver. This week is helping Jackson prepare for the surgery—physically and psychologically. “It's been tremendously difficult,” she says, sighing. “But they make it comfortable.” (JANIS GEORGE)



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after

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VANCOUVER



MAMMOGRAMS ON WHEELS IN MANITOBA

The new mobile unit arrives at a remote clinic in the hinterlands with patient.

## Breast scans in the hinterlands

JACQUELINE SPELD, an elementary school teacher in The Pas, Man., had her first breast X-ray in town in 2002, when a Winnipeg doctor she had been sent told her about a mobile mammogram service for rural residents. Since 1998, Manitoba has been expanding its program to have mobile X-ray units equipped with portable X-ray machines visit rural communities where women might otherwise be overlooked. That started fairly piecemeal: in the late 1990s, doctors in Winnipeg diagnosed non-oncologist cysts in her breast. Because The Pas didn't—and still doesn't—have the appropriate equipment, she had to travel to seven-hour drive south to Winnipeg

for her annual mammogram. As it turned out, her first examination in The Pas revealed cancer—and breast, now 53, had a mastectomy. But detection came early enough that the cancer didn't spread. And Ishid says the community has embraced the program. "It's picking up a lot of women who would never even have gone down to Winnipeg," she says, "people who couldn't afford it."

One measure of success: the percentage of women between 50 and 69 who go for a mammogram today is higher outside Winnipeg than it is within the capital. Two years past 55 communities, screening about 5000

women a year. The visits are advertised in local media. And to draw the point home, CancerCare Manitoba sends letters to women of a certain age informing them of the service—and follow-up messages alerting to rural women if they don't respond right away. Research suggests early detection lowers breast cancer deaths by a third.

Coordinator Sara Grant recalls entering rural communities during the first years of the program and finding many advanced cases of breast cancer. The women simply hadn't the means or the inclination to drive great distances to be screened. "We don't see that anymore, which is the whole goal," says Grant. "We want to catch them before it's a problem and hopefully save their lives—and that's what we're doing." DAVID HANLEY

## FIGHTING CHILD ANXIETY IN VANCOUVER

## Kids conquer "that freaked-out feeling"

**QUEEN MARY** Elementary School in Vancouver's West Point Grey enclave offers gorgeous views of Spanish Blanka beach, English Bay and the downtown's sparkling skyscrapers. It is the kind of place where teacher Adriene Cook dared a student to buy aorbing, full-spectrum light bulbs for her Grade 6 class to complicate the soft of

screening in. In this seemingly idyllic milieu, what could young ones possibly have to worry about? For too much, it turns out. This is why this spring Cook took part in a pilot project to spot and help out the first signs of mental illness in kids. "What you think affects how you feel," says Cook. "And when you feel good, you do better."

Designed to aid children with anxiety, the program was developed in Australia and is called FRIENDS, an acronym that turns

up advice: "Feeling worried? Relax. Know thoughts. Explain plans. Nice work, reward. Don't forget to breathe. Stay calm." B.C. will be the first province to implement the program this fall. "For me," says Cook, "the program says to kids, 'It's OK, we all experience anxiety, we all have fears, and this is, in fact, good.' But we need to learn how to

make choices and control our emotions."

FRIENDS helps kids handle the emotional stress associated with such situations as tests, family arguments, even stage fright. Teachers walk children through coping mechanisms—take deep breaths, relax your muscles—so the initial distress doesn't grow into something worse: falling grades, social withdrawal, even drugs and alcohol.

About 125 teachers and as many as 1,500 elementary school students took part in the pilot. In weekly lessons, children learned to

recognize the symptoms associated with "that freaked-out feeling," such as a racing heart, a lump in the throat and sweaty palms, says Lynn Miller, a University of British Columbia psychologist who trained the teachers. "Instead of being frightened," says Miller, "the children are taught to realize their bodies are doing them in calm themselves down." In her first class, Cook focused on having the kids describe what it's like to feel worried. Over time, they ex-

perienced a range of troubling experiences, from the death of a pet to losing money.

Research shows that kids who go through FRIENDS feel better. In Australia, follow-up studies show that over 80 per cent of the students who had initial signs of anxiety were symptom-free after the sessions. A good reason to relax. **DANIEL HIRSHENBAUM**

## FOCUS ON PREVENTION IN SAULT STE. MARIE, ONT.

## One-stop shopping for medical care

**HIGH-REGULAR** family doctor wasn't available, so restaurant Rosemary Cook acted as the recommendation of an acquaintance and used Sault Ste. Marie's Group Health Centre. That was in the early 1980s, and Sault was troubled by a geriatricological problem. "They had no X-rays, blood counts, gave me a diagnosis, had me on 100 pills, called me at work to get a prescription sent to me, told me to go home," recalls Sault. "I couldn't believe that was all happening within two or three days."

Opened in 1963, the Group Health Centre today is considered one of Canada's most successful primary care facilities. With

51,000 registered patients on its roster, its strength lies in the full spectrum of what it offers: endocrine, ophthalmology, physiotherapy and specialists to laboratory services, a pharmacy and an optician dispensary—and an impressive degree of personalized care. Health care Ray Kormanow has used the Sault model as the way of the future. Presently, Kormanow argues, it lies, and Group Health was breaking new ground.

Sault calls it a "one-stop shopping"—convenience, even reassurance. Her two elderly patients, who speak only broken English, got almost all their care at the centre, and their doctors phone Sault to update her on their conditions. "So me," she says, "that isn't typical of big-city, modern-age medicine anymore." But what the Sault centre also brings to the table is its dense redundancy:

## TAKE CHARGE OF YOUR Heart Disease and Stroke Risk Factors

According to the Heart and Stroke Foundation, almost two thirds (66%) of adult Canadians are mid- or older informed when it comes to knowing how to protect their own heart health. This group has been shown to have misconceptions about everything from the risk factors for heart disease and stroke to the treatment of these conditions.

But it's time that Canadians become proactive in managing their own heart health. By understanding the risk factors associated with heart disease and stroke, they can work with their doctors to help eliminate or reduce many of them.

Common risk factors include age, gender, family history, tobacco use, high cholesterol, diabetes, high blood pressure, excessive alcohol use, poor diet, being overweight or obese, and low levels of physical activity.

While some risk factors—like age, gender or family history—can't be changed, many can be controlled or modified.

Don't let heart disease or stroke catch you off guard. Talk to your doctor about how you can manage your individual risk factors and together you can develop a personalized action plan.



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## Staying Sun Smart Means More Than Suncscreen

Exposure to UV light can result in numerous types of damage to the eyes surface, including cataracts or "clouding" in the eyes, as well as an increased and stronger susceptibility to cataracts. Damage to the eyes from UV light is also cumulative over time and can result in the growth of age-related diseases, such as macular degeneration and glaucoma. The leading cause of blindness in people over 50 years old, according to the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Optometry is cataracts.

"There have been a lot of studies to prove that UV rays from the sun" is a lot of UV rays. "There is a lot of UV rays in the sun, and it's not just damaging UV rays." According to a survey conducted by Transitions Optical, 70 percent of people know the sun can cause their eyes to be damaged. The survey also revealed that most people take five precautions to protect their eyes against the sun's harmful rays.

Because UV rays are harmful to the eye and prevent all year long, you can protect a lot of what it's that exposure, such as on a cloudy day. To protect your eyes from UV rays throughout the year, here are a few "Sun Smart" tips:

- Stay out of the sun from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.
- Wear a hat or other protective clothing.
- Choose eyewear with large frames.
- No more prescription.
- Wear sunglasses with UV light protection.
- Wear eyewear that blocks 100 percent UVB and UVA radiation.
- Remember that UV rays enter a lens, so always wear eye protection on cloudy days.

In addition to wearing eye lenses with UV protection, you should also take the following steps to protect your eyes. According to the American Academy of Ophthalmology, the following steps are important to a healthy eye of the sun. Sunlight is a threat to the eyes when exposed to UV light, known as photodamage, and not only in people wearing prescription lenses UV rays.

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ability to head off many debilitating illnesses. One of the first larger facilities to get into electronic record keeping, Group Health's file searching capabilities have improved treatment for diabetes and helped cut hospital readmissions for congestive heart failure by at least 30 per cent, says Dr. Lewis O'Brien, a family doctor and the lead physician in the electronic data project.

While successful, the centre is not without its problems. It has a waiting list of over

3,000 area residents who want to get in. Meanwhile, the centre struggles with the Ontario government for money, having now gone 39 months without a funding agreement. "Although the politicians come through and say good things," says O'Brien, "when they go back home, they have to deal with businessmen, and it's the businessmen who don't see it as different." Maybe a visit to the Sault is what the doc needs to order.

DANNY HAWKINS/USA

## PIONEERING TRANSPLANTS IN EDMONTON

## Giving new organs, helping cure old ones

**MIKE POWER** was able to hold his own, Avery, for only a few minutes before the newborn was whisked away and prepped for surgery. While still in the world, the baby had been diagnosed with hypoplastic left heart syndrome, meaning the left half of his heart was dramatically underdeveloped, the right side also, was not performing well. To live, he needed a transplant as soon as possible after birth. When a donor heart became available, Power's wife, Lesley, 36, had a C-section at Edmonton's University of Alberta Hospital four weeks prior to her due date. Eleven later, Avery received his new heart.

Now five months old, Avery is at home and doing well. As his doctors say, though they don't have a lot of experience to draw on, they've become his case is one of only about two dozen newborn heart transplants in the world, involving mismatched blood types. This, too, is a Canadian premiere, announced just three years ago. Such transplants are possible because he lives in their first few months of life haven't yet developed the antibodies to attack a mismatched heart. Meanwhile, Avery's parents are simply grateful for the opportunity their son has been given. "It has stretched the limits of my imagination," says Power, 40. "I would never have dreamed it was possible."

Pushing the envelope is something the University of Alberta Hospital's transplant team does well. Each year, the hospital averages about 250 organ transplants—heart, liver, kidney and lung—making it Canada's second-highest after Toronto's General. In addition to cure operations like the one

performed on Avery by surgeons David Rose and Ivan Rebekha, researchers here are also finding new ways to find off-pump infusions and organ rejection.

The best-known breakthrough came in 1999—the so-called Edmonton Protocol, a procedure that is giving new hope to those who suffer from Type 1 or juvenile diabetes. Severe diabetes are treated with insulin-secreting cells, known as islets, from donated human pancreases. Eighty per cent of recipients no longer need daily insulin shots and are freed from the wild blood sugar swings and comatose comas that threaten their lives. Justin Sheppa, director of the clinical trial transplant program at the University of Alberta, is currently overseeing a series of trials in centres throughout North America and Europe to try to have the most impact.

The Edmonton transplant team is also conducting leading edge research into how specific genes can trigger organ rejection. This would help predict when that is about to take place, and allow physicians to intervene. Ultimately the research would point to treatments for the diabetes that lead to transplants, and hopefully prevent the need for surgery.

A newly opened Alberta Transplant Institute promises to foster further innovation by bringing clinical pharmacists and scientists into closer contact, to share information about breakthroughs. In that regard, Mike Avery is already doing his bit. "I'm still the informant the hospital gathered from his operation will help others," says Power. "That makes us feel very proud." **DEAN BERGMAN**

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# STAR-STRICKEN

We have an insatiable appetite for celebs—and their high-profile meltdowns

**IN MID-MARCH** I witnessed Courtney Love's comeback attempt on subsequent evenings at two small music venues in New York City. It was a terrible 48 hours. Love is, of course, the black widow of rock 'n' roll, former wife of musician Kurt Cobain, and the knowledge that the 16th anniversary of her husband's suicide was looming in early April gave some of the crowd the confidence they required to become aggressive. They tore at her, pulled out her hair to play Nirvana songs, screamed at her to take her clothes off. They wanted

blood—the meat and gristle of someone over the edge, she obliged, and not just on stage.

Her new record is called *Loversrock*. Sweet, innocent, but it wasn't long into the Manhattan publicity blitz that everyone knew it wasn't. Love was a joke. Harassment Courtney in no way resembles gifts sent from Kurt Cobain or Kristian Bush. At Love's first Manhattan venue, she was a guest on *The Late Show With David Letterman* and *Elvis Costello* normally unforgivable host, she invited a public relations student to snicker her breast outside a Wendy's and grinned at the camera as they were photographed, she later knocked a microphone stand into the crowd at the club *Phish*, allegedly striking an audience member. Outside while, Love showed so utterly awful that it made the immigrant crowd so uncomfortable that they began to leave. It was difficult to look away because there was the chance you'd miss seeing her struggle her gutters, or, perhaps, burst into flames. No one who stayed was there for the music. In fact, many left. It was too sad to watch. After that show, as my friends and I were milling about outside *Phish*, we saw the NYPD arrive, and I joked about the police being on Courtney's trail. Not funny, apparently—they arrested her for the microphone incident (she was charged again that week with assaulting a woman at the home of her ex-boyfriend and former manager, Jim Berke, in April).

The hangover, if that's the right word, was worse. I'd been privileged enough to see Love in the middle of a Las Vegas-sized meltdown. It was fascinating to watch a star come unglued. But I left feeling sick and guilty, as if I'd been guilty of a crime by reading



The arrested Jackson seems ready to have realized that clothes obscure the man

her diary while gorging on junk food. The after-effects of Love's performance lingered. I felt in some way complicit.

Channel-surfing recently, I wound up watching Larry King interview Jeremiah Jackson on CNN, and a less intense version of that feeling returned. Jackson was, inexplicably, talking to King from Babylon. The discussion centred on his brother Michael's decision to fire his lawyers and sway Jeremiah's

suggested counsel for his brother Randy's *Wipe Out* move, as it turned out. The second hearing in Michael Jackson's child molestation case was a much more subdued affair: no sell-thru number on top of the Black & Tan, and no dressing like a diplomat from Soviet Kalingrad. The long of pop seemed to realize that he was about to be wanted and defrocked, and the gravity of the charges weighed on him—or his lawyers—heavily enough to inspire him to wear a Brooks Brothers suit and hooded cape. Clothes make the man, as the saying goes—or maybe that should be clothes make the man, since Jackson still lives in Newland. It's difficult to forget that, even if he's now decided to dress like a banker.

I don't know if anyone can follow the hush sound of celebrity scandals without feeling ill. The media lives these boxes of yesterday's news into the limelight, until we're kind and so ignored, with an eating eye for hard detail and a surgical eye on the other side of the public persona. The cabal of culture makes an artist's work secondary to their biography. I've always thought it should be the other way around. I didn't like Courtney Love because she was a failed actress whose first major role was a part in *Sid and Nancy*, nor because she dated neither Julian Cope for a hot minute in the mid-'80s, nor because she had a bad rap in the mid-'80s. I liked her for her music. And all I did was buy a few *Flake* records back in the day. Why did I feel so responsible?

Chris Rock offers an explanation for the media's obsession on *Comedian's Comedian*, a recent HBO special, the comedian blasted up onstage addresses Jackson, Kobe Bryant, R. Kelly and Donald Sutherland, men who've generated the attention and filled newspapers with the unforgiving cynicism of their private lives. "Don't let all this celebrity news fool you," Rock says. "It's a trick to get your mind off the war. I think Bush sent that girl to Kobe's room. Bush sent that little boy to Michael Jackson's house. Bush killed Laci

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Person... all to get your mind off the war." It's obviously kidding, but the sentiment isn't a joke. TV is the opiate of the masses only if the masses are interested in what's on during peace time. And drawing attention from the bleaker aspects of life—not just the war in Iraq, but peace and history-contested elections—seems to be what makes the modern work.

Still, that seems a little disheartening, so long as you suppose that intelligent people run the networks and that intelligent people watch TV and buy magazines. It can't all be about running away from issues of the day, even if dragging celebrities through the mud as the Western world's favorite new pastime. On the other end of the spectrum, the best character I've heard for celebrity obsession is from Salman Rushdie (no stranger to the party-pops pages himself), who offers a quasi-religious explanation of it in his rack of red fable, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*. Rushdie writes: "We always did prefer our comic figures injured, stuck full of arrows or crisscrossed by swords, we need them killed and maimed, we need to watch their bloody scramble slowly and to observe their

leave, with handkerchiefs, before appearing at the club Phila, where she came tonight.

measuring grief. Not in spite of their faults but for their faults we desire them, we desire their weaknesses, their pettinesses, their bad marriages, their substance abuse, their spite. Seeing ourselves in [their] mirror, and forgetting [them], we also [forget] our selves. [They] need one to be [their] sun."

How, yes, but there's some truth to that. While it seems silly to believe a star's faults can offer him a sort of redemption, a never-the-less appears to be the guiding principle behind celebrity worship. Their public faults mirror our private fears. If their lives provide allegories for our own, it's little wonder that their biographies should be of equal or greater importance than their work itself. It's

unfortunate, but that's the way pop culture works. And we reward our public figures for ugly behavior, whether it's a publicity stunt or an episode of acting out. The allure of the headline is so strong, in fact, that desire for it seems to have trumped shame. On the other hand, the public's rapacious appetite for scandal—which can be satisfied, however temporarily, by leaked photos of celebs sans makeup—has given rise to paparazzi so aggressive Hollywood now refers to them as "stalkermazzi." They're the kind that raised Princess Diana to her death, but they did so only because we provided the market for the pictures.

Celebrities are after coverage, and they're well aware that if it bleeds, it leads. Given that our most aspirational society, that sort of consuming greed for scandal makes sense. In *Wall Street*, Oliver Stone's attack on the boom since '80s, and dense Gordon Gekko declares, "Greed is right. Greed works. Greed clarifies, cuts through and captures the essence of the evolutionary spirit." It's worth remembering, though, that the film ends with Gekko's prison going to prison. If the same happens in our finance wars, we shouldn't be surprised. We asked them for it. ■

**THE HUNGER** for scandal has given rise to paparazzi so aggressive Hollywood now refers to them as "stalkermazzi"

# 'NUTS' IN THE NIGHT

An insomniac has travelled the world to find out why people can't sleep

*He can't help it. Josh Fried is a walking, breathing stereotype—the insomniac guy, bristly nose, moustachioed mustache. In weekly Montreal Gazette columns, he applies wicked Jewish humor to the quirk and pieces of daily life, from Remyette parking bylaws to being a tuckas idler in a technological age. But Fried, 35, is also a serious filmmaker—in last effort, in 2003, was a two-hour documentary on punk-rockers and prisons the world over. And now he's about to give reporters a peek into the bedrooms of the nation. For the past year, Fried has been on the trail of what a great many of us are not very good at in bed: sleep. The result is his hour-long documentary In Search of Sleep: An Insomniac's Journey, co-directed with Eric Seltis (CR), will air the program, which has been said to angle after co-writing for, as part of its Vancouver run on June 23. Drinking a tall latte in a Montreal café, Fried confessed to Montreal's Quebec Journaliste Club Journalist that the footage of him snoring, puffing and snoring puffs that look like they came from a bagpipe because snoring changes his public image forever.*

**What's with those checkered pyjamas?**

I had a first record in the film pretty much, and my mental sleeping apparel is not entirely flexible, so I wear out and bought pyjamas that I liked. That sleep clinic in San Francisco was weird. I was wired from head to toe with sensors, there was a camera rolling, a blue light flashing every time I turned, and I knew there were women in the other room watching me to sleep. I dozed 2½ hours of sleep that night, it was awful.

**Those shots of you in the film tossing and turning and jolting in bed were genuine?**

No! We connected cameras on a tripod in my room on a night-hall tape, and the next day I watched myself. It was the most depressing moment of my entire life. I woke up 121 times during that one night. I believe

for the poor soul who was so much better at sleeping, and it was me! But, you know, being filmed while sleeping is not easy, because sleep is so intensely private and intimate. When there is a camera rolling, people want to smile and look their best, but when you sleep, you lose all control over what you look like—you may be snoring or drooling like an idiot. It takes time to get used to the idea of being filmed sleeping.

**What's your problem?**

I am a bad sleeper. Not so many other people. I thought it was a personal thing, then I realized it's universal. In Canada, one person in three is an insomniac or sleeps with one. I started asking around at dinner parties, and the response was ironic. Sometimes in very private, it's not something you discuss with your friends. So people immediately started talking about their bad cases, not themselves—others snapping at their partners. "I can't sleep because you snore!" "Not I snore because you keep the room too hot!" It's very interesting. Real sleep is the sweet imperfection to a happy married life.

**What makes a bad sleeper?**

Stress. Insomniacs are intelligent, busy people who run or do a lot of things during the day, and their brain goes bam! bam! bam! and when their body needs rest at night, the brain is not ready to be turned off. It goes spiral inside.

**Stupid? Don't all geniuses hatch their best ideas at 4 a.m.?**

Four o'clock in the morning is a good time to write blues lyrics or dark poetry, but you think like an idiot at that hour. For one brilliant idea you can have at 4 a.m., you will have 10,000 others that are of a mental midges. I am a smart guy during the day, but the guy who takes over my head at 4 a.m. is a morose—I call him Loumad. He has an IQ of about 80, and can't solve a

grade-school problem. He says wake was doing about the same being left on, the 100 ball signal, and 30 minutes later he's convinced he will fail at everything you assign. On the next morning, he'll be fine or have a heart attack, and then al-Qaeda will run the world.

**Just tell us about insomnia.**

Insomnia is not about waking up in the middle of the night, it's about not being able to go back to sleep, and going crazy instead. Four a.m. is the dark end of life, and you start to expand your fears. Ultimately, you lie awake because the clock is ticking and you start to worry about having a bad day tomorrow because you're not sleeping, and that's what keeps you awake. That's the essence of it, and it's nuts.

**Is there a conflict between modern life and sleep?**

Yes, there is. If you were a farmer plowing the field 200 years ago, what did you do when the sun set? You slept. Did you know that Thomas Edison invented the lightbulb precisely because he wanted to conquer sleep? He saw sleep as degrading, a loss of time, you see in this humiliating posture, entertaining no endogenous thinking, no noble thoughts. Edison slept only four hours a night, on principle.

**The film's shot in Toronto, Vancouver, Chicago, California and Spain. How did that work—how do you get the budget?**

Debutary today is a global business, so, right made, a film has to have appeal to several markets. Insomnia is a universal problem. Seventy per cent of Scandinavians, 50 per cent of the French or the British have problems sleeping. They sleep better in Spain, and that's why we went there, too. They eat dinner late, party way into the night, but they drop everything in the middle of the day, so have a national nap. **BT**



Dear Canadian in Israel is not uncommon, or sleeps with one, says Fried. Real sleep is the worst impediment to a happy married life.



## BETTING ON *MACBETH*

Desperate for winners, Stratford has a lot riding on the play's homegrown star

**GRAHAM ABBEY** turns up for his entrance looking like the elite volleyball player he once was. Deep hair pushed back, he smiles exhausted swigs from his water bottle as if he'd just come off the court. But he's been doing something he never aspires to—playing *Macbeth* at Ontario's Stratford Festival. This afternoon he's just finished a routine for a volatile audience of high school students. "Some kids come in here to be starstruck," notes Abbey, wearing a chair backstage. "And with this group, when the lights went down they were screaming. But they came 'round—the story held them'."

His success in focusing the attention of the

Abbey is superstitious about his role, and never refers to the Scottish king by name.

horizontally challenged sounds a welcome bright note for the \$52-million festival. Stratford has been struggling. Last year, with SARS and other crises, it took a beating at the box office, though in that end it managed to pull out a small surplus. This year, inexplicably, ticket sales are lagging well behind last season's. Stratford desperately needs some winners, and the festival is banking that Abbey's *Macbeth* is one of them. In his one season at Stratford, Abbey, 33, has excelled at young, attractive male leads. He's costared a memorable *Romeo* and a com-

pelting Henry V, enlivening them with his distinctive blend of soaring feeling, clarity and earnestness. But the reimagined Scottish king represents a whole other level of difficulty. *Macbeth* with his tortured ambivalence demands more intelligence, emotional openness and richness of personality than most actors are able to give. "Playing this role terrifies me," Abbey says. "Any actor has to be humbled by trying to do such a character."

Abbey grew up largely in Stratford, where he spent a couple of seasons as a child actor at the festival. But he was also a fine volleyball player who competed internationally for Canada. Later, when he went off to Queen's to earn a peek at degree, he kept



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## THE PM'S EXIT STRATEGY

There's no one to blame for the downward spiral but Paul Martin himself

### DEAR PRIME MINISTER:

First an apology. Last summer you asked your acceptance speech at the Liberal leadership convention "Making History." I found it a gainz-ble for a rapid speech, and I made stangled noises. I shouldn't have. You are in danger of a monotonous deflato and you seem determined to go on with unprecedented lack of class. It's not the kind of history you meant to make, I suppose, but one must make whatever crack one can. Even if it is a one-ter. Yet not all is lost. This tactic of scolding Canadians about Stephen Harper is working, at

least a bit. I've been getting mail from readers, an increasing amount in the campaign program, saying, in effect: that's enough. It's great for embarrassing the Liberals, but now it's time to stop the Conservatives.

A Montreal musician of my acquaintance wrote the other day, "Dude! I have to vote for [Jean] Lapierre—the Liberal candidate in Outremont"—and not happy about it. I predicted 2 years ago that Martin would be another John Turner. But this pre-life loving gay-hating alternative has to be stopped."

I get more and more such letters from any reader, Pierre Marois, and since your campaign has deteriorated into a non-stop rant about the Harper party, enclosures that read: either you up. Which therefore means I probably shouldn't have told you.

The last thing you need is to cheer up. What you need is to give your head a shake. For every Canadian willing to be scripted into a free campaign against the Conservatives, there are others who are refusing to vote Liberal because they know you would take such vote as an endorsement of your appalling behaviour over the last few years.

There is a steadily growing portion of the Canadian public for whom the problem is not Jean Chrétien, or 10-year itch, or the profoundly limited abilities of your junior campaign advisers. The problem is Paul Martin.

It's a lot rich to watch you go down, fight-



ing on grand principles like gay rights, choice in abortion, national unity and an independent foreign policy when for half a decade you cultivated as much ambiguity as possible on each of those issues.

Gay marriage? You're the guy who sent out the Supreme Court reference on gay marriage, buying a bill for delay so you could avoid fighting an election on the issue.

Iraq? We have tiny little conversations in the Ottawa press gallery that landed me from naming the Martin adviser who explained to me, on the eve of the Iraq war, why Jean Chrétien was wrong to sit the war out.

National unity? Give me a break. In 1990 Jean Lapierre quit the Liberal Party of Canada only after he had watched his preferred candidate—you—lose the leadership. Then he helped form the Bloc Québécois. The problem is not so much that he flirted with separatism. If solid convictions had driven that conversion or brought him his recent ride

in to federalism, they could be explained. The problem is that his allegiance to party and country often like a westerly wind. He is as fickle as a paint tray. You never cared. All that mattered was that he was your pal.

And good things happen to Paul Martin's pals, don't they? It must have been hard to run a campaign against éternité while the people who ran your leadership campaign—John McCall, Bill Cunningham, Dennis Dawson, Mark Shultz—kept repeatedly discovering that nobody opposed them for Liberal nomination. It must be hard to claim you are getting to the bottom of the sponsorship scandal when the only hot items that wind up on the line belong to friends of Jean Chrétien.

In your eagerness to admit others' mistakes but not your own—what Andrew Coyne called your fondness for the sheep cult—there's lack of adult responsibility in your fondness for the artfully colored talking point, designed to get you out of a scenario by saying as little as possible, there is a lack of adult respect for your audience. Us. The Canadian electorate.

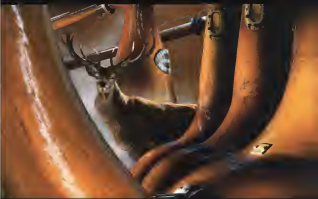
You had more than a year after you were named your dismissal from cabinet to tell Canadians your plans for government. You decided not to make it. You came to power without an agenda, confident you could find one after we've elected you. You wonder why we won't buy grand promises about a Paul Martin government. The answer is simple: we've seen one. It wasn't that great. It left people with no feeling that anything will be lost if you go away.

Too many years enough Canadians are re-electing you. But finally, at, that's not the way to be a. So it's time to put your dreams of a decade in power on hold. You may enter the history books sooner, like in two weeks. Which raises a question: how do you want history to remember your last two weeks in public life?

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